



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

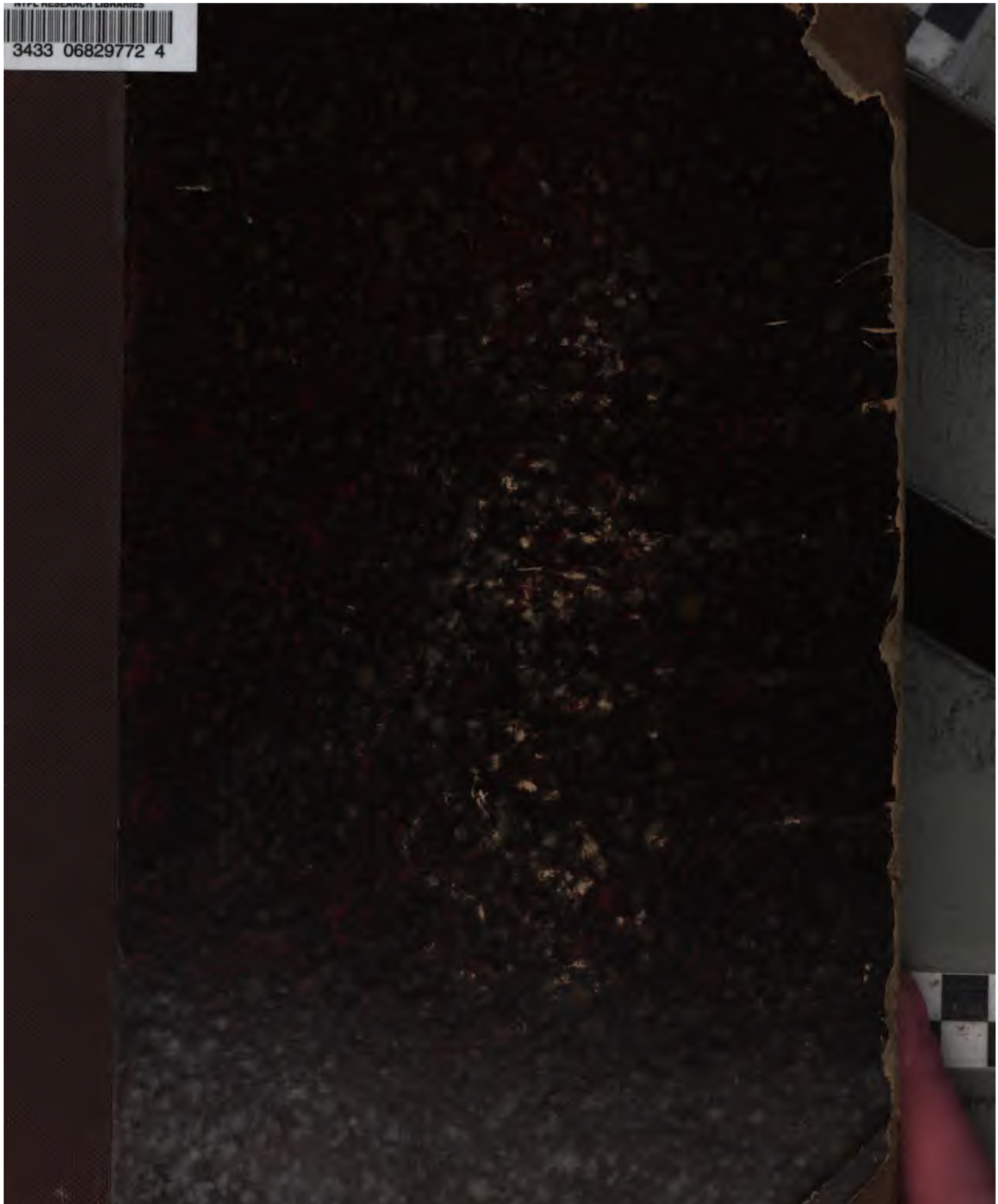
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
POPPES,
FROM THE
Foundation of the SEE of ROME,
TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

VOL. IV.

By ARCHIBALD BOWER, Esq;

*Heretofore Public Professor of Rhetoric, History, and Philosophy, in the
Universities of Rome, Fermo, and Macerata,
And, in the latter Place, Counsellor of the Inquisition.*

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR;

And to be had at W. SANDBY's, at the *Ship*, opposite St. Dunstan's Church,
Fleet-street; at Z. STUART's at the *Lamb*, in *Pater-noster-Row*; at
Mr. FRITH's, the Corner of the *Old Jewry*, in the *Poultry*; and at the
AUTHOR's, opposite to the Duke of Grafton's, in *Old Bond-street*.

MDCCCLIX.



THE Reader will excuse the Smalness of this Volume, as I have published it at this Time to satisfy the World, as early as I could, that I am determined to pursue the Work I have undertaken. Ample Amends shall be made in the next Volume for what is wanting as to Size in this; and the Whole shall be comprised, the Public may depend upon it, in Three Volumes more. I need not inform the World why the Publication of this Volume has been so long delayed.



THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
P O P E S,
OR
BISHOPS of R O M E.

CONSTANTINE,
LEO,

P A U L,

DESIDERIUS,
King of the
Lombards.

Ninety-second Bishop of Rome.



STEPHEN dying, the People were divided in the Election of his Successor, some declaring for the Deacon *Paul*, Brother to the late Pope, and some for the Archdeacon *Theophylactus*. This Division occasioned a Vacancy of one Month and five Days. But the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Magistrates, all warmly promoting the Interest of *Pau'*, his Party prevailed in the End^a. And this is the only Instance, that occurs in the whole History of the Popes, of two Brothers successively raised to the Papal Chair.

The new Pope, sensible that unless *Pepin*, who of a Bishop had made him a Prince, maintained him in that Rank, he would soon from a Prince be degraded again into a Bishop, did not wait till he was ordained to engage his Protection; but quite unmindful of the

Year of
Christ 757.
Paul chosen.

Courts the
Favour of
Pepin,

^a Anast. in Paulo.

Year of
Christ 757.

And of the
French Na-
tion.

Pepin assures
him of his
Protection.

He complains
to Pepin of
the King of
the Lom-
bards.

Affairs of the Church, and only concerned to ensure his temporal Dominions, he dispatched a Messenger into *France*, the Moment he was chosen, with a Letter to the King to acquaint him with his Promotion, and earnestly entreat him, as he expected that his Sins should be forgiven him, not to suffer his Zeal for the Safety and Welfare of the Church and the Flock of *St. Peter* ever to cool, since that Apostle had distinguished him above all the Princes of the Earth in chusing him for their only Protector after God and himself^b. The Pope wrote at the same Time to the *French* in general, to thank them for the Zeal they had so meritoriously exerted in the Cause of the Apostolic Church of *St. Peter*, and assure them of the Protection and Favour of the Prince of the Apostles so long as they continued to protect and to favour his Church and his People^c(A).

Pepin in his Answer congratulated the Pope on his Promotion with the warmest Expressions of Friendship and Kindness, exhorted the *Roman* Senate and People to continue stedfast in their Obedience and Submission to *St. Peter* and his Vicar, and assured them, that nothing was capable of lessening his Zeal for their Prosperity and Welfare, or shaking the Resolution he had taken of maintaining *St. Peter* and his Successors in the full Possession and quiet Enjoyment of what he had given them, and employing for that Purpose, if necessary, the whole Strength of his Kingdom^d.

As the Treaty of *Pavia* was not fully executed at the Death of *Aistulphus*, the next Care of the Pope was to have such Places delivered up to him as had been yielded to his Predecessor by that Treaty, but were still kept under various Pretences by the *Lombards*. *Desiderius*, Duke or Governor of *Tuscany*, had been raised to the Throne in the Room of *Aistulphus*; and he owed his Crown chiefly to the Interest and the Intrigues of Pope *Stephen*, who had not only himself declared, but had prevailed upon *Pepin* to declare in his Favour, and diverted by that Means the *Lombards*, unwilling to quarrel, at so critical a Juncture, with the *French*, from chusing the Monk *Rachis*,

^b Cod. Carolin. Ep. 13.

^c Cod. Carol. Ep. 26.

^d Ibid.

(A) The Direction of the Letter was, To *Pepin of France, our most excellent Son, and Roman Patrician, Paul the Deacon, and in the Name of God the Elect of the Holy Apostolic See* (1). For the Person

elected was not styled Pope, as has been observed elsewhere (2); but only the *Elect*, during the Interval between his Election, and his Ordination.

(1) Cod. Carolin. Ep. 13.

(2) See Vol. 3. p. 24. Note M.

whom,

Paul.

BISHOPS of Rome.

3

Year of
Christ 757.

whom, tired of a monastic Life, the far greater Part of the Nation were for placing again on the Throne. But it was upon Condition that *Desiderius* should, if he succeeded, execute, without Delay, the Treaty of *Pavia* in its full Extent, and besides yield to St. *Peter* certain Cities, Territories, and Strongholds, not contained in that Treaty, that *Stephen* had espoused his Cause, and persuaded his Friend *Pepin* to espouse it. For no sooner were the Popes possessed of temporal Dominions, than, giving way to their Ambition, they began, like the other Princes of this World, to contrive all possible Means of extending them. To those Conditions *Desiderius* had agreed; but as he had not yet comply'd with them, *Paul* took care, as soon as he was ordained, to put him in mind of his Agreement, and challenge the Performance of it. *Desiderius* pretended to have nothing so much at Heart, as to satisfy the Pope; but alleging, that the Affairs of his new Kingdom engrossed all his Attention, he begged his Holiness to excuse his not complying, till they were settled, with his Demands. Of this Delay the Pope complained, in a long Letter to *Pepin*. And truly he seems to have been entirely taken up, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, in writing Letters to *Pepin*, to his two Sons, to the *French* in general, filled with Complaints, either against the King of the *Lombards*, or the Emperor; and in striving, by frequent Legations, as well as by Letters, to keep the *French*, the *Greeks*, and the *Lombards*, ever at Variance. In most of his Letters he paints the Emperor as a professed Heretic, as a Persecutor of the Orthodox, as a faithless Tyrant; as one, with whom no Christian Prince could live in Friendship and Amity, without renouncing the Christian Religion. Of these Letters, no fewer than Thirty-one have reached our Times (B), all calculated to keep *Pepin* steady in his Attachment to St. *Peter* and his Sec, and to pre-

Strives to keep the French, the Greeks, and the Lombards, at Variance.

(B) *James Grezer* published at *Ingolstat*, in 1613, the Letters which the Popes *Gregory III.* *Zachary*, *Stephen II.* *Paul*, *Stephen III.* and the Antipope *Constantine*, had written to *Charles Martel*, to *Pepin*, to *Charlemagne*, and to his Brother *Carloman*. These original Letters, in all 99, were collected into one Volume by *Charlemagne* himself: But as some of them were greatly damaged, and in several Places hardly legible, he caused them to be transcribed in 792, as appears from the In-

scription that was prefixed to them by the Person whom he employ'd on that Occasion. That Copy is still preserved in the Emperor's Library, as *Lambecius* informs us (1); who adds, that the Transcriber, who copied them for *Grezer*, took too much Liberty in altering several Passages, under Colour of correcting them. This Collection is commonly known by the Name of the *Caroline Code*, being so called from *Charles*, who first collected the Letters it contains.

(1) Lamb. Biblioth. Cæsar. l. 2: c. 5.

Year of
Christ 757.

The Greeks
and Lombards com-
plain, in their
Turn, to Pe-
pin, of the
Pope.

judice him against the *Greeks* and the *Lombards*, as the sworn Enemies of both.

On the other hand, the Emperor and the King of the *Lombards* left nothing unattempted to gain *Pepin*, and persuade him to abandon the Protection of the Pope; representing him not only as a Rebel to his liege Lord, and an Usurper, but as a public Incendiary; who, instead of striving to unite the Christian Princes among themselves against the *Saracens*, their common Enemy, made it his Study to sow and foment Divisions among them; and that with no other View, but to aggrandize himself at their Expence, or rather at the Expence of the Christian Religion; since the *Saracens*, taking Advantage of their Divisions, had already extended, and continued daily to extend, their Conquests both in the East and the West, and with their Conquests their detestable Superstition. The Emperor urged, in particular, his unquestionable Right to the *Exarchate* and the *Pentapolis*, which, he said, had been unjustly seized by the *Lombards*, and therefore ought, in Justice, to have been restored to him, agreeably to the known and never yet disputed Maxim, That whatever is taken from an unlawful Possessor, ought to be restored to the lawful Owner. But the Remonstrances of the Emperor proved all ineffectual, *Pepin* returning no other Answer to them; but that he had taken those Provinces from the *Lombards*; and not from him; that they were his by Right of Conquest; and that being, consequently, free to dispose of them to whom he pleased; he had thought fit to give them, for the Good of his Soul; to be for ever possessed by St. *Peter* and his Successors, and could not, without being guilty of a Sacrilege, revoke that Donation.

But in vain.

The Emperor
sends a solemn
Embassy into
France,

Year of
Christ 764.

The Emperor, however, did not yet despair of being able to gain *Pepin*, and prevail upon him to abandon the Pope, and enter into an Alliance with the Empire. With that View he sent, in 764, a most solemn Embassy into *France*; the most solemn, that had yet been seen in that Kingdom. It consisted of six Patricians, of several Bishops, and a great Number of other Ecclesiastics, all Men eminent for their Piety and Learning, as well as for their Address in Negotiations, and Skill in Affairs of State. They brought with them most magnificent Presents for *Pepin* and the chief Lords of his Court; among the rest, an Organ, an Instrument till then never seen in *France*. Their Commission was, to propose a Marriage between

Paul.

BISHOPS of Rome.

5

Leo, the Emperor's Son, born in 750; and *Gesil*, *Pepin's* Daughter, born in 757; *Constantine* flattering himself, that *Pepin* might be brought, by such an Alliance, to hearken to his just Remonstrances; and either restore to him the Provinces he claimed, or suffer him, at least, to recover them. He well knew, that the Pope, to prejudice the Western Princes, especially *Pepin* and his two Sons, against him, had, on account of his Aversion to Images, represented him to them as a professed Heretic, as a declared Enemy of the Church, as a Jew or a *Mahometan*, rather than a Christian; and it was to remove these Prejudices, and satisfy the *French* Nation, that it was no Heresy to forbid the Worship of Images; but, on the contrary, Idolatry to worship them, that he appointed so many learned Ecclesiastics to attend his Embassadors, on this Occasion, into *France*. *Pepin* granted them an Audience soon after their Arrival, received them with great Politeness, and seemed highly pleased with their Presents. But as to the Marriage between his Daughter and the young Emperor *Leo*, he told them, when they proposed it, that he should be proud of such an Alliance, were their Master a Catholic Prince; but being, as he was informed, a Heretic, a Persecutor of the Church, an Enemy to the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints, who reigned with her in Heaven, to contract an Alliance with him, would be countenancing the Heresy, which he professed, and renouncing the Faith which the *French* Nation thought it their greatest Glory to defend and maintain.

This was no more than what the Embassadors expected; and therefore they readily reply'd; that their Master was neither a Heretic, nor an Abettor of Heretics; that he received the six General Councils, held the Doctrine which they had defined, and condemned all the Heretics and Heresies which they had condemned; that, treading in the Footsteps of his Father of glorious Memory, and animated, as well as he, with a true Zeal for the Purity of the Christian Religion, he had indeed proscribed the Worship of Images, and obliged all his loving Subjects to worship God alone, and to worship him in Spirit and in Truth; that he had therein entirely conformed to the Doctrine of our Saviour and his Apostles, as well as to the Practice of the primitive Christians and the Fathers, who had all abhorred, as might be easily made to appear from their Writings, not only the Worship, but even the Use of Images in the Places of their Worship; that the Worship, which their Master, as Guardian of the Church, had undertaken to abolish, was an Innovation, an Abuse of a very

Year of
Christ 764.

Proposes a
Match be-
tween his Son
and Pepin's
Daughter.

The Proposal
rejected, and
why.

The Embassa-
dors under-
take to shew
that their
Master was
no Heretic.

Year of
Christ 764.

a very late Date; that it had been zealously opposed by the greatest Men, as well as the greatest Saints in the Church, and had been condemned, but ten Years since, by the most numerous Council that had ever been convened. They added, that the *French* Nation, and the Princes in the West, were quite misinformed, and most grossly imposed upon with respect to the State of Religion in the East; that the Popes, prompted by their boundless Ambition, wanted only a Pretence to shake off the Yoke, and seize on the Dominions of their liege Lords the Emperors; and that it was only to disguise their Treason and Rebellion, that they had charged them, and the *Greeks* in general, with Heresy: But if the most Christian King would allow the Points in Dispute to be candidly examined in his Presence by the *French* Bishops, and the Ecclesiastics, whom the Emperor had sent, for that Purpose, from *Constantinople*, (a Favour which they earnestly entreated him to grant them) they would leave him to judge, and stand to his Judgment, whether the Emperors were justly or unjustly traduced by the Popes and their Emissaries as Heretics^f.

A great Council
assembled
at Gentilli
about Images.

Pepin had hitherto entirely acquiesced in the Judgment of the Pope, taking it upon his Word, that the Emperor and the *Greeks* were all Heretics. But tempted by the favourable Opportunity, that now offered, and extremely desirous to know what might be said on either Side in a Dispute that had made, and continued to make, so great a Noise in the Church, he resolved to comply with the Request of the Embassadors, and for once take the Liberty of judging for himself. He issued, accordingly, an Order, enjoining all the Bishops in his Dominions to meet, after *Easter*, at *Gentilli*, a royal Villa about a League from *Paris*, where he frequently resided. The Bishops met at the Place and Time appointed; and it proved the most solemn and numerous Assembly that had ever yet met in *France*. It consisted of all the Bishops of that Kingdom and those of *Germany* too, who were subject to the Crown of *France*; and there were present, besides the six Embassadors from the Emperor with the Bishops and other Ecclesiastics, who attended them, two Legates sent from *Rome* to represent the Pope, a great Number of other Ecclesiastics, and *Pepin* assisted in Person, attended by the chief Nobility, and all the great Officers of State. In that great Council (for so it is called in the Annals of *France*) two Points were proposed and debated;

^f Annal. Franc. Bert. ad ann. 767. Eginhard, in Chron. Ado Vienna. Rhegin. Aimoïn, l. 4. c. 37.

Paul. BISHOPS of Rome.

7

viz. *Whether it was lawful to worship Images, or set them up in the Places of Worship; and whether the Holy Ghost proceeded only from the Father, or from the Father and the Son; the Greeks charging the Latins with having added to the Nicene Creed the Words, and from the Son; and the Latins reproaching the Greeks, in their Turn, with having erased them.* Year of Christ 764.

What was the Issue of this Council, what the Decision concerning either of these Points, History does not inform us: And hence some have concluded, that they came to no Determination; as if so many Bishops assembled on purpose to decide a Question, and a Question, so far as it concerned the Worship of Images, of the utmost Importance, would have left it quite undecided. Indeed no Councils, we know of, have been thus backward; but, on the contrary, most of them too forward to decide and define, and even to damn all who did not acquiesce in their Definitions and Decisions. The Jesuit *Maimburg* takes it for granted, and roundly asserts, as a Thing not at all to be doubted, that the *Gallican* Bishops condemned, and condemned with one Voice, both the Errors of the *Greeks*, especially that concerning the Use and the Worship of Images. To make good his Assertion, he tells us, that twelve of the most learned Bishops of *France*, sent to represent the *Gallican* Church in a Council held two Years after at *Rome*, distinguished themselves, above all the rest, by their Zeal in the Defence and in Favour of Images. He adds, that as no Man can doubt but those Bishops acted agreeably to the Sentiments of their Fellow-Bishops, and the Council, that had been held on the same Subject in *France*, no Man can doubt but the Use and Worship of Images were approved by that Council, and the opposite Doctrine condemned as heretical^b. But I should be glad to know who informed *Maimburg* that the twelve *Gallican* Bishops distinguished themselves by their Zeal in the Defence of Images? *Anastasius*, who wrote in the next Century, and has given us the most particular Account we have of the Council held at *Rome*, and has been copied by *Maimburg*, and almost all who speak of that Council, tells us, indeed, that twelve of the most learned Bishops of *France* were sent to *Rome* by *Charles*, or *Charlemagne*, to assist at it; but takes not the least Notice of their boasted Zeal in the Defence of Imagesⁱ. One of them, by Name *Herulphus*, spoke, it is

^a Idem ibid. Steph. 111.

^b Maimb. Hist. Iconoclast. l. 3. p. 228.

ⁱ Anast. in

Year of
C¹ 764.

true, if Pope *Adrian* is to be credited ^k without any Warrant from the contemporary Historians, for the Worship of Images; and that one *Maimburg* has taken the Liberty to multiply into twelve, arguing thus: One of the twelve *Gallican* Bishops spoke in the Council of *Rome* for the Worship of Images, therefore they all spoke for that Worship, and all distinguished themselves by their Zeal in maintaining it: No Man can doubt but they acted therein agreeably to the Sentiments of their Fellow-Bishops, and the Council that had been held in *France* but two Years before on the same Subject; therefore no Man can doubt but the Worship of Images was approved by that Council, and the opposite Doctrine condemned as heretical.

But condemned, and the Use of Images approved.

F. *Sirmond*, a Writer well known for his uncommon Erudition and Learning, and, tho' a Jesuit, not void of all Candour, ingenuously owns that in the Council of *Gentilli* the Worship of Images was condemned, tho' the Use was approved. *In the Council of Gentilli*, says he, *the Gallican Bishops decreed against the Greek Iconoclasts, that Images should be retained only as Helps to Memory, or for the Sake of Instruction, but should not be worshiped, for that they absolutely rejected*¹: And *Sirmond* is extolled by *Maimburg* himself, as better acquainted than any other Writer whatever with the ancient Discipline and Faith of the *Gallican* Church. That this was the Doctrine of that Church in the latter End of the present and the Beginning of the following Century, is manifest, from the Decrees of two other Councils; the Council of *Franckfort*, in 794, at which some Bishops might have assisted, who were present at that of *Gentilli*; and the Council of *Paris*, in 824. For in both these Councils, consisting chiefly of *Gallican* Bishops, it was decreed, as shall be shewn in the Sequel, that Images should be retained *only* as Helps to Memory, as Books for the Ignorant, as Ornaments; but that no kind of Worship should be given them. We must therefore either suppose the *Gallican* Bishops and Church to have entirely changed, in the Space of 30 Years, their Faith and their Doctrine, or to have defined at *Gentilli*, in 764, what they defined in 794, that is, 30 Years after, at *Franckfort*, viz, that *Images were not to be broken, nor were they to be worshiped*; the very Doctrine of Pope *Gregory the Great*^m. And here it is to be observed, that the Council of *Constantinople* did not condemn the Use of Images, in the

^k *Adrian*. in ep. ad Carol.
^m See vol. 3. p. 233, & seq.

¹ *Sirmond*. Concil. Gallican. tom. II. p. 192.

Places of Worship, as Evil in itself; but only as dangerous, as exposing those, who pray'd before them, especially the Ignorant, to the Danger of praying to them; and it was not as we have seenⁿ, till *Leo*, the first Iconoclast Emperor, found by Experience, that the Use of Images could not be allowed, and the Worship prevented, that he ordered them to be cast out of the Churches, and broken.

Year of
Christ 764.

And now the only Objection against the proposed Marriage, *viz.* *Pepin* satisfied that the Emperor was a Heretic, being thus removed, and *Pepin* satisfied that the *Greeks* were no Enemies to the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints, tho' they did not worship their Images, but broke them to prevent their being worshipped, the Embassadors renewed the Proposal, urging the great Advantages, that would accrue to the Christian Religion from an Union between the two chief Christian Powers, at a Time when the common Enemy, availing himself of their Divisions, aimed at nothing less than its utter Destruction. But *Pepin*, unwilling to disoblige the Pope, who he knew would be no less displeased than alarmed at an Alliance between *France* and the Empire, how advantageous soever it might prove to the Christian Religion, kept still to his former Resolution, nor could the Embassadors, tho' seconded by some of his Court, prevail upon him, by any means, to alter it. He sent however, in his Turn, a solemn Embassy into the East with Letters in Answer to those which the Imperial Embassadors had brought him from the Emperor: But lest he should thereby give Umbrage to the Pope jealous of the least Appearance of a good Understanding between him and the Emperor, he took Care to transmit Copies of all these Letters to his Holiness, who highly pleased with his Conduct, dispatched, as soon as he received them, a Nuncio extraordinary into *France*, to thank the King for his inviolable Attachment to the Apostolic See, and assure him of the Favour and Protection of St. *Peter*, whose Honour and Interest he had so much at Heart^o.

But unwilling to disoblige the Pope, rejects the proposed Alliance with the Emperor.

These are the only Events, I find recorded in the Pontificate of *Paul* worthy of Notice, tho' he presided in the *Roman* Church ten Years, and one Month. For he was ordained on the 29th of *May* 757, and died on the 28th of *June* 767. He was buried in the Church of St. *Paul*, where no Pope had been buried before: But his Remains were three Months after, translated to the *Vatican*, and

Paul dies.
Year of
Christ 767.

ⁿ See vol. 3. p. 261.

^o Cod. Carolin. ep. 20.

Year of
Christ 767.

deposited in an Oratory, which he had built there in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*^p. He has been allowed a Place in the Kalendar, and is now worshipped, on the 28th of *June* as a Saint, but for what extraordinary Merit History does not inform us, nor even the Legends, unless it were for his uncommon Address in courting the Favour of *Pepin*, in flattering him, for all his Letters to that Prince are filled with the most fulsome Flattery; and keeping him, by that means, steadily attached, and entirely devoted to his Sec. In his Time was discovered at *Rome* an invaluable Treasure, the Body of *St. Petronilla*, *St. Peter's* Daughter; and the Pope, transported with Joy at such a Discovery, caused it to be translated from the Cemetery, where it was found, to the *Vatican*. She died at *Rome*, during the Pontificate of her Father.

In his Time
an invaluable
Treasure discovered
in Rome.

In the East
the Monks
refuse to comply
with the Definition
of the Council of
Constantinople
against Images.

Of this Pope many Letters have reached our Times, but all concerning temporal Affairs, which he was too much taken up with to attend to the Affairs of Religion, or to think of affording any Comfort or Relief to his Friends in the East, tho' treated by the Emperor and his Officers with the utmost Severity. It had been but very lately defined, as we have seen ^q, and defined in a Council consisting of no fewer than 338 Bishops, that to worship Images, or any other Creature, was robbing God of the Honour that was due to him alone, and relapsing into Idolatry; and by the same Council they, who should thenceforth presume to set up Images in the Churches, or in private Houses, or to conceal them, had been anathematized, and declared guilty of a Breach of God's express Command, and the Imperial Laws. To the Definition and Decrees of so great and so numerous a Council, all, or almost all, but the Monks, readily submitted; and it was universally received in the East as the seventh Oecumenical or General Council. But the Monks, not satisfy'd with rejecting it, and stigmatizing the Prelates, who composed it, with the opprobrious Names of Heretics, Apostates, *Jews*, *Mahometans*, still retained their Images, continued to expose them to public Adoration, and even paid them, as it were in Defiance of the Council and the Imperial Laws, extraordinary Honours; nay, quitting their Solitudes, and repairing, in great Numbers, to the Cities, they strove to maintain, by stirring up the Populace to Sedition and Rebellion, in spite of the Emperor, the condemned Superstition. Of this the Bishops complained to the Governors of the Provinces, and they to the Em-

^p Anast. Mart. Pol. Luitpr. &c.

^q See vol. 3. p. 364.

Paul.

BISHOPS of Rome.

II

peror, who thereupon strictly enjoined them to cause the Decrees of the Council to be punctually comply'd with in their respective Governments, and the Laws to be executed, with the utmost Severity, against the Worshipers of Images, which his most religious Predecessors had issued against the Worshipers of Idols. Pursuant to this Order, the Monasteries were every-where stripped by the Imperial Officers of all their Images; and the Monks, who offered to defend them, dragged to Prison, publicly whipped, and sent into Exile. Several Monasteries were pulled down, or set on Fire, and the Monks, who had the good Luck to make their Escape, obliged to seek for Shelter in the Desarts, against the Fury of the incensed Soldiery. *Draco*, or, as some call him, *Laconodraco*, Governor of *Lydia*, *Ionis*, *Caria*, and *Mysia*, distinguished himself, on this Occasion, above all the rest: For finding he could not, by fair Means, prevail upon the Monks, who were very numerous in those Provinces, to part with their Images, nor even restrain them from seducing the ignorant Multitude, and raising Disturbances among the Populace, he resolved to extirpate the whole Race. Having accordingly surrounded, with the Troops under his Command, one of their chief Monasteries, he seized all the Monks, cut off their Noses, shut up 38 of them in a Bath, where they were all stifled, and sent the rest into Exile. He secured, in like manner, all the Monks of the other Monasteries within his Government, who had not made their Escape, as well as the Nuns; and carrying them, surrounded by his Troops, into a spacious Field, he put it to their choice, either to quit their Profession and marry, each Monk a Nun, or to have their Eyes put out, and be confined to the most inhospitable Places in the Empire. Most of them chose to quit their Profession, and to marry; and those, who did not, met with no Mercy. *Draco*, having thus quite cleared his Government of Monks and Nuns, burnt all their Images, gave up their Monasteries to be plundered by the Soldiery, and then levelled them with the Ground^r. The other Governors, less Strangers to Compassion and Mercy than *Draco*, contented themselves with confining in the public Gaols, with Whipping and sending into Exile, such of those unhappy Wretches as obstinately refused to submit, or encouraged others not to submit to the Definition and Decrees of the Council.

Year of
Christ 767.

Treated with
great Seve-
rity by the
Governors of
the Pro-
vinces,

^r Theoph. ad ann. Const. 20. Cedren. ibid.

Year of
Christ 767.
and banished
Constanti-
nople.

Some of them
quit their
Profession.

Their inso-
lent Beha-
viour to the
Emperor.

Punished
with great
Severity.

They met with no better Treatment in *Constantinople* than they did in the Provinces; for the most mad Enthusiasts among them, resorting to the Metropolis to keep the People there steady in what they call'd the Catholic Faith, rais'd daily such Disturbances in every Quarter of the City, that the Emperor, apprehending a general Revolt, was obliged, in the End, to issue an Edict, commanding all Monks to quit their whimsical Habit, and renounce their idle Profession, or depart the City in the Term of three Days, on Pain of being treated as Disturbers of the public Peace, as Rebels, as Enemies both to the State and the Church. In Compliance with that Edict, many, fearing God, says *Theophanes*, less than the Emperor, quitted their holy Habit, renounced their Profession, and of Monks becoming Husbands, had even the Assurance to appear, O shocking Sight! leading their Brides in the public Streets of *Constantinople*. Others, withdrawing from the City, retir'd to the Desarts, where, none being allowed to relieve them, they perished with Hunger, and the Hardships they suffered. But some, more zealous than the rest, continued at *Constantinople*, in open Defiance of the Imperial Edict, and concealing themselves in the Day-time, but skulking about from House to House in the Night, still kept up the Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion in the People. Two of them, *Andrew* and *Stephen*, who are now both honoured as Martyrs and Saints of the first Rate, had even the Boldness to appear in publick, nay, and to insult the Emperor in Person; the one calling him another *Julian*, a *Valens*, an Apostate, a Persecutor of Christ and the Saints in their Images; and the other treading under Foot, in his Presence, a Coin with his Image, and telling him, that as it was no Crime, according to him, to break the Images of Christ and his Saints, it could be no Crime to insult, abuse, and tread under Foot, his, nor ought he to take it amiss, or resent it. No wonder, therefore, that *Constantine*, thus provoked, should have proceeded against them, as he is said to have done, with the utmost Severity; causing all, who fell into his Hands, to be either publicly executed, or severely whipped, deprived of their Sight, a Punishment common in the East, and sent into Exile. As for *Andrew* and *Stephen*, the one was whipped to Death by the Emperor's Guards; and the other dragged by them through the Streets, and torn in Pieces. From these Executions the Jesuit *Maimburg* takes Occasion to paint *Constantine* as a *Nero*, as a *Dioclesian*, as one of

BISHOPS of Rome.

13.

the 'most cruel and merciless Tyrants that ever sway'd a sceptre. But his Severity to the rebellious Monks did not, perhaps, exceed that of *Lewis XIV.* to his Protestant Subjects, tho' guilty of no Rebellion, or Treason: And yet *Maimburg*, far from thinking his grand Monarch a *Nero*, a *Dioclesian*, a Tyrant, for thus persecuting his innocent Subjects, commends and extols him as thereby well deserving the Title he bore of the *Most Christian King* ^{t.} If it was Tyranny in *Constantine* to punish, with so much Severity, those who worshipped Images; it was Tyranny in *Lewis* to punish, with the like Severity, those who refused to worship them: If it was no Tyranny in the one, it could be none in the other. In short, both were Tyrants, which *Maimburg* will not allow, or neither.

Year of
Christ 767.

The Menology of the *Greeks*, and the *Roman* Martyrology, are filled with the Names of Monks, who are said to have suffered Martyrdom, under *Copronymus*, in the Defence of Images; but it was not, in Truth, for their Opinion they suffered, but for the Disturbances and Tumults they every where raised; insomuch, that had not the Emperor proceeded against them with the utmost Severity, and quite cleared the Empire of those Incendiaries, as he is said to have done, he would have probably seen, as they were very numerous, and had a great Ascendant over the Multitude, a Civil War kindled, by their Means, in the Bowels of the Empire, and a favourable Opportunity given to the *Saracens* of seizing anew the Provinces which he had lately recovered, and carrying on their Conquests to the very Gates of *Constantinople*. The Monkish Order being thus entirely suppressed in all the Provinces subject to the Empire in the East, and the Monasteries either converted to better Uses, or levelled with the Ground, the Decrees of the Council of *Constantinople* were quietly comply'd with by all Ranks of People, the Use of Images was every where abolished, as well as the Worship; and *Constantine* had, in the End, the Satisfaction he had so long wished for of seeing the Christian Worship restored, throughout his Dominions, to its primitive Purity. During this cruel Persecution, as it is called by the *Byzantine* Historians, the Pope, tho' well acquainted with the Sufferings of his Friends and Emissaries the Monks, never once offered to interpose in their Favour, nor so much as to encourage or to comfort them in.

No Mar-
tyrs, tho' be-
nourred as
such.

The Monkish
Order sup-
pressed in the
East, and the
Worship of
Images abo-
lished.

^{t.} Maimb. Hist. du Calvinif. ep. Dedicat.

their

Year of
Christ 767.

their Distress by his Letters, his Attention being wholly engrossed by Affairs of a very different Nature, the securing of his new Principality against the Attempts of the *Greeks* and the *Lombards*.

CONSTANTINE,
LEO,

STEPHEN III.

DESIDERIUS,
King of the
Lombards.

Ninety-third BISHOP of Rome.

*Schism in the
Roman
Chur.h.*

THE Death of *Paul* occasioned great Disturbances and Confusion in *Rome*. For *Toto*, Duke of *Nepi*, a small City in the present Patrimony of *St. Peter*, resolved to raise one of his Family to the Papal Chair; and coming to *Rome* with that View, while the Pope lay at the Point of Death, attended by his three Brothers, and a great Number of his Friends and his Vassals, all well armed, caused, the Moment *Paul* expired, his Brother *Constantine* to be proclaimed by them Pope in his Room; and carrying him in Triumph, without Loss of Time, to the *Lateran* Palace, oblig'd *George*, Bishop of *Palestrina*, by threatening him with present Death, to initiate him, as he was yet a Layman, with the usual Ceremonies among the Clergy. The next Day he was, by the same Bishop, ordained Subdeacon and Deacon; and the *Sunday* after, by him and the two Bishops of *Porto* and *Albano*, consecrated Bishop^u(C).

Constantine,
yet a Lay-
man raised
by his Party
to the See.

Strives to
gain Pepin.

Constantine well knew, that the most effectual, nay, and only Means of maintaining himself in the Station to which he had been thus raised, in open Defiance of all the Laws and Canons of the Church, was to engage the *French* Nation in his Cause, and get himself acknowledged by them for lawful Pope. He therefore took care, as soon as he was ordained, to write to *Pepin*, to acquaint him with his Promotion, to assure him of his inviolable Attachment to him and his Family, and earnestly entreat him, as he hoped to be

^u Anast. in Steph. 111.

(C) It was not then thought necessary, as we may observe here by the way, that a Man should be ordained Priest in order to be made a Bishop: For Deacons were as commonly raised to the episcopal Dignity as Presbyters; and in the ancient *Ordo Romanus* the same Ceremony is pre-

scribed for the Ordination of the one and the other (1). *Constantine* was, according to the Account of *Anastasius*, of a Deacon made Bishop; and it is not to be doubted but he would have been first ordained Presbyter, had he thought it necessary.

¶

(1) Vide Mabill. in comment. prævio in Ord. Rom. n. 18.

Stephen III. BISHOPS of Rome.

15

favoured and protected by St. *Peter*, to take him, the Successor and Vicar of that Apostle, into his Favour and Protection. In the same Letter he had the Assurance to tell *Pepin*, that he had been chosen by the joint Suffrages of the Clergy and People of *Rome*; that he had long withstood their Prayers, their Entreaties, and even their Tears; but that finding them determined to chuse no other, he had, in the End, been obliged to acquiesce in the Will of God and his People^w. This Letter he convey'd to *Pepin* by two Embassadors, who had been sent by that Prince to beg of Pope *Paul* the *Lives of the Saints*, Legends alone being now in Request, and were then returning to *France*. As the Embassadors had been present at his Election, and well knew what had passed on that Occasion, he took care to engage them, before they left *Rome*, with many rich Presents, to confirm, by Word of Mouth, all he said in his Letter. As he was well apprised that *Pepin* would soon be informed by others, if not by them, of the Unlawfulness of his Election, to prepossess him in his Favour, he dispatched, soon after their Departure, two of his most trusty Friends into *France*; *Christopher* Presbyter, and *Anastasius* Notary, with another Letter to the King, entreating him not to give Credit to certain false and scandalous Reports, that were maliciously spread abroad by his Enemies concerning his Election; and assuring him, that no Violence had been used with any but himself; that no Bishop had ever more unfeignedly declined, and none more unwillingly accepted the episcopal Dignity, than himself; that he had indeed comply'd, in the End, with the Will of the People, or rather of God, revealed to him in the Will of the People. He added, that he had sent two Persons of the greatest Probity, and the most unexceptionable Characters, on whose Veracity he might entirely rely, to inform him of every Particular relating to his Election; and that he did not doubt, but his most Christian Son would give more Credit to them, than to the Emissaries of those whose Ambition had been, to their great Mortification and his own, disappointed^x.

In the same Letter, to make his Court to *Pepin*, he gives him an Account of the State of Religion in the East; telling him, among other Things, that he had received a Synodical Letter from *Theodore*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, addressed to his Predecessor, to acquaint him, that the Worship of Images began to revive in the East; and

^x Cod. Carol. ep. 98.

^z Cod. Carol. ep. 99.

that

Year of
Christ 767.

that not only *Theodore* himself, but the two Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Alexandria* entirely agreed, in the Article relating to Images, with the Patriarch of *Rome*. Of that Letter, genuine or supposititious (D), *Constantine* sent a Copy, both in *Greek* and in *Latin*, to *Pepin*; and, after entreating him, over and over again, to continue his Protection to the Church, the People, and the Vicar of *St. Peter*, he begged him to remand, as soon as possible, the two Nuncios, whom his Predecessor had sent into *France*; pretending, that their Churches suffered greatly by their Absence; but, in Truth, to learn of them what the *French* and their King thought of his Election. In both Letters he expresses great Zeal for the Welfare of the Church, and the Good of the Christian Religion and the Catholic Faith; and had not, perhaps, more of the Hypocrite than most of his Predecessors.

Great Dis-
turbances in
Rome.

Year of
Christ 768.

The War which *Pepin* was carrying on, at this Time, against *Vaisfar*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, diverted him from attending, at present, to the Affairs of *Italy*; and before he put an End to that War, which he did soon after by the Reduction of that Country, *Constantine* was deposed, and another raised to the See in his Room. Of this Event *Anastasius* gives us the following Account. *Christopher* and his Son *Sergius*, the one *Primicerius* and Counsellor (E), and the other Treasurer of the *Roman* Church, shocked at so bare-faced an Usurpation, formed a Design of driving out the Usurper, by some Means or other, and making Room for a new and canonical Election. This Design they imparted to some *Roman* Citizens, who, they knew, were no Friends to *Constantine*: But finding them too much intimi-

(D) I said *genuine or supposititious*; it not being at all probable that the *Saracens*, who were more averse to Images even than the Emperor, and to whom the three Patriarchs were subject, would have suffered that Worship to revive in their Dominions. Besides, no Notice is taken by any of the Historians of those Times, tho' all most zealous Advocates for Pictures and Images, nor even by the Fathers of *Nice*, of any Council approving at this Time, in the East, the Use or the Worship of Images; nay, Pope *Adrian*, in a Letter which he wrote, 30 Years after, to the Emperor *Constantine*, the present Emperor's Grandson, and his Mother *Irene*, tells them,

that, till their Time, the People in the East had all erred in what concerned Images (1); that is, had all rejected both the Use and the Worship of Images.

(E) The *Primicerius* and *Secundicerius* were the two chief Officers of the *Roman* Church. Their Office was, to judge and decide all Disputes among those, who immediately belonged to the Pope, or waited on his Person; to attend him in the public Processions, the one walking on his Right, and the other on his Left Hand; and to assist him, with their Advice, in all Affairs of Importance, ecclesiastical or civil: Whence they are frequently stiled the Pope's Counsellors.

(1) Tom. 7. Concil. p. 89.

Stephen III. BISHOPS of Rome.

17

dated and awed by *Toto* and his Followers, to join in the Enterprize, they resolved to apply to the *Lombards*; and with that View begged Leave of *Constantine* to retire, as being tired of the World to the Monastery of St. *Saviour* in the Dukedom of *Spoleti*. *Constantine*, apprehending they might raise some Disturbances in the City, readily complied with their Request, but obliged them, before they left *Rome*, to swear that their Design was to embrace a monastic Life, that they had no other Design whatsoever, and that they would never undertake any thing themselves, or encourage others to undertake any thing against him. This Oath they both took, the Honour of the *Roman* Church being at Stake, without the least Scruple or Remorse, thinking it could be no Sin to forswear themselves for the Good of the apostolic See. And now *Constantine*, apprehending nothing from them, suffered them to depart. But they, instead of repairing to the Monastery, where the Abbot expected them, went strait to *Spoleti*, and from thence to *Pavia*, to impart their Design to the King of the *Lombards*, and gain him over, which they thought might be easily accomplished, to their Side. But they found the King not inclined to concern himself in the Affair the one way or the other. However he declared, that if they could persuade any of his Subjects to join them, he would not prevent it. With this Answer they left *Pavia*, and being joined in the Cities of *Spoleti* and *Rieti* by a great many *Lombards*, they marched silently with them towards *Rome*. They arrived on the 29th of *July* in the Evening at the Gate of St. *Pancrase*, which being early next Morning opened to them by their Friends, they entered the City, and declaring that they were come to deliver *Rome* from its Tyrants, set up their Standard on the Wall. In the mean time *Toto*, a Man of great Resolution and Bravery, alarmed at the Noise, and hastening, with one of his Brothers, named *Passif*, and some of his Friends, to the Walls, fell on the *Lombards*, killed with his own Hand *Racipert* their Leader, and put the rest, both *Lombards* and *Romans*, to Flight. But while he was pursuing them, two *Romans*, who were with him, and pretended to be his Friends, attacking him behind, ran him through with their Lances, and laid him dead at their Feet. *Toto* being killed, all, who were with him, betaking themselves to Flight, endeavoured to make their Escape. *Passif* fled to the *Lateran* Palace to acquaint his Brother *Constantine* with what had passed, and apprise him of the Danger he was in. Both took Refuge in the

Year of
Christ 768.

Duke Toto,
Constantine's Brother,
killed.

Year of
Christ 768.

Constantine
taken, and
dragged to
Prison.
Philip a
Monk made
Pope and
deposed.

Oratory of St. *Casarius* within the Palace; but were soon discovered there, and dragged to Prison⁷.

During this Confusion, a Presbyter, named *Waldipert*, flew with some *Romans* to the Monastery of St. *Vitus*, and taking from thence *Philip* a *Lombard* Monk, proclaimed him Pope, conducted him to the *Lateran*, crying aloud, *Long live Pope Philip*, St. Peter has chosen him, and there placed him in the pontifical Chair. The Monk, who had never once thought of the Papal Dignity, looked upon all this as a Dream. But *Waldipert* encouraging him, and some of the Populace applauding, with repeated Acclamations, the Election of Pope *Philip*, he took upon him all the State and Majesty of a Pope, gave his Blessing, with great Solemnity, to the People, who flocked, from all Quarters of the City to see their new Sovereign, and entertained that Night at Supper, the leading Men of the Militia and the Clergy. In the mean time *Christopher* and *Sergius*, greatly surprised at this new Election, assembled, upon the first Notice they had of it, the Heads of the People and the Clergy, and protesting against it, declared, in their Presence, that they were determined not to acquiesce in the Election of *Philip*, no less scandalous than that of *Constantine*, and would not dismiss the *Lombards* they had brought with them, till the mock Pope quitting the *Lateran* returned to his Monastery. *Waldipert* and his Party, were no Match for *Christopher* and his *Lombards*, and therefore abandoning *Philip*, advised him to withdraw quietly to his Monastery; which he did, having enjoy'd the Papal Dignity not quite 24 Hours².

Stephen chosen, and Constantine degraded.

Both Intruders being thus driven out, *Christopher* assembled, a few Days after, the People and the Clergy, in order to proceed, according to the Canons, to a new Election. They met on the fifth of *August*, and the same Day chose, with one Consent, *Stephen*, Presbyter of the Church of St. *Cecilia*, and conducted him, with the usual Ceremonies, to the *Lateran*. The next Day, the sixth of *August*, some Bishops and *Roman* Presbyters, assembling in the Church of St. *Saviour*, ordered *Constantine* to be brought before them, and having first caused the Canons to be read, solemnly deposed him. He was then sent to *Collanova*, and there shut up in a Monastery. The Day after, being the 7th of *August*, which in 769. fell on a Sunday, *Stephen* was ordained, and an End put at last to the Schism².

⁷ Anast. in Steph. 111.

² Idem ibid.

² Idem ibid.

But

Stephen III. BISHOPS of Rome.

19

But no End was put to the Cruelties practised by the Partisans of the new Pope on all, who had adhered either to *Constantine*, or *Philip*. ^{Year of Christ 768.} *Theodore*, a Bishop, and *Constantine's Major domo*, had his Eyes and his Tongue plucked out, and was confined to a Monastery on Mount *Scaurus*, where he died of Hunger and Thirst, roaring in a Manner ^{Constantine and his Friends treated with the utmost Cruelty.} to melt the most hardened Heart, but in vain, only for a Cup of Water. *Passif*, *Constantine's* Brother, was likewise deprived, and in a most barbarous Manner, of his Sight. *Gracilis*, Tribune of *Alatri* in *Campania*, and *Constantine's* Friend, being seized, and brought to *Rome*, met there with the same Treatment as *Theodore*. *Constantine* had been confined, as I have related above, to a Monastery in *Callanovia*; but these Barbarians, thinking he had been too mildly dealt with, dragged him from thence, and leading him about exposed to the Insults of the Populace on Horseback with heavy Weights at his Feet, in the end they put out his Eyes, and left him in that Condition lying in the Street. The Presbyter *Waldipert*, who had caused *Philip* to be proclaimed Pope, was dragged from the *Pantheon*, where he had taken Refuge, and condemned to have his Eyes and his Tongue pulled out; which was done in so cruel a Manner, that he died of the Pain^b. Did the Cruelty of the Emperor to the Monks, allowing all the *Byzantine* Historians have said of his Cruelty to be true, exceed that, I will not say of the Pope to these unhappy Wretches, but of his Ministers and Friends, whom it does not appear that he ever once offered to restrain? The Cruelties practised at *Rome*, *Baronius* construes into a Judgment upon those, who suffered them, for presuming to raise a Layman, and raise him by Force and Violence, to the Throne of *St. Peter*: And may we not, with much better Reason, construe the Cruelties, that are said to have been practised on the Monks at *Constantinople*, into a just Judgment upon them for presuming to maintain, and with Treason and Rebellion, an idolatrous Worship forbidden by the Law of God, and the Laws of the Empire?

The new Pope was a Native of *Sicily*, and the Son of one *Olivus*. ^{The new Pope writes to Pepin and his two Sons.} He is said by *Anastasius*, to have been held in great Esteem by the four preceding Popes, on account of his Piety and Learning, especially by his immediate Predecessor *Paul*, whom he attended in his last Malady with great Care and Tendernefs, never stirring from his Bed till he expired^c. ^{Year of Christ 769.} Upon his Death he withdrew to his Church,

^b Idem ibid.

^c Anast. ibid.

Year of
Christ 769.

Begs them to
send some of
their Bishops
to assist at a
Council to be
held in
Rome.

The Council
meets, and
Constantine
is brought be-
fore them.

and there continued quiet till *Constantine* being deposed, he was raised to the See in his Room, in the Manner we have seen. He was no sooner ordained, than courting the Favour of *Pepin*, as his Predecessors had all done ever since they shook off the Yoke and all Subjection to the Emperors, he dispatched *Sergius*, the Son of *Christopher*, into *France* with a Letter to the King and his two Sons *Charles* and *Carloman*, to acquaint them with his Election, to engage their Protection, and at the same Time entreat them to send some of the most learned Bishops of their Kingdom to assist at a Council, which he proposed to assemble at *Rome*, in order to restore the ecclesiastical Discipline entirely neglected during the Usurpation of *Constantine*. *Sergius* received, on the Road, the melancholy News of *Pepin's* Death, (he died of a Dropsy on the 23d of *September* of the present Year, in the 54th Year of his Age, and the 17th of his Reign) but pursuing, nevertheless, his Journey, he delivered the Letter, with which he was charged, to the deceased King's two Sons, *Charles* and *Carloman*. Both received him with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem, assured him that they were determined to maintain *St. Peter* and his Vicar in the quiet Possession of whatever their Father had, out of his great Piety and Religion, been pleased to give them, and, in compliance with the Request of the Pope, sent together with the Legate, on his Return to *Rome*, twelve of the most learned Bishops of their Kingdom^d. On their Arrival a Council was assembled in the *Lateran*, consisting of the Bishops of *Tuscany*, *Campania*, and of some other Provinces of *Italy*, and the twelve Bishops come from *France*. The Pope presided in Person; and the first Day they met, the unhappy *Constantine* was, by his Order, brought, in a most deplorable Condition, his Wounds not being yet healed, before them. They asked him, how he had presumed to intrude himself, being yet a Layman, into the holy Apostolic See? What could have tempted him to commit so enormous and unheard-of a Crime? He answered, that it was not by any Intrigues of his, that he had attained the Pontifical Dignity; but that the People had carried him by Force to the *Lateran*, and obliged him to accept it, hoping he would redress the Grievances they had complained of under *Paul*. He then threw himself on the Ground, owned himself guilty, confessed that his Sins were more in Number than the Sand of the Sea,

^d Idem ibid.

Stephen III. BISHOPS of Rome.

21

and stretching out his Arms, begged they would suffer Mercy to take Place of Justice, and forgive him. The Fathers returned him no Answer, but only ordered him to be raised from the Ground, and led out of the Assembly. Year of
Christ 769.

The next Day he was brought again before the Council, and interrogated anew concerning his Intrusion. As the Fathers laid great Strefs on his being, in defiance of the Laws of the Church, of a Layman ordained Bishop, calling it *a new Crime, an unheard-of Attempt*; he modestly replied, that of such Ordinations many Instances occurred in the Annals of the Church (F); and, to wave more ancient Precedents, that *Sergius of Ravenna* and *Stephen of Naples*, both Metropolitans, had been thus ordained in the late Pontificate. This Answer one would think, could have given no Offence, the Bishops he named being still living, and in the quiet Possession of their Sees. But he had the Assurance to speak in his own Defence, nay, and to contradict the Council: The Fathers therefore, provoked beyond measure at his Insolence, and fired with Zeal, says *Anastasius*, for the ancient Practice of the Church, ordered him to be most cruelly beaten in their Presence, and drove him with Reproaches and Curses out of the Assembly. From his being thus barbarously His cruel
Treatment. treated, tho' an Object of Compassion rather than of Resentment and Revenge, by a Council, at which the Pope presided, nay, and by his Order, for all the Bishops joined, *universi Sacerdotes* says *Anastasius*, in that cruel Order, may we not conclude the Cruelties used with the Friends of that unhappy Man to have been, if not commanded, at least tacitly approved by his Holiness? If so, I leave the Reader to judge, which of the two was the greater Tyrant, *Stephen*, or the Emperor *Constantine*.

(F) St. *Ambrose* was not only a Layman, but still a Catechumen, and not yet baptized, when the People of *Milan* chose him for their Bishop; and he was ordained a few Days after his Election (1). St. *Cyprian* was but a Neophyte, or newly baptized, when he was chosen, and consecrated Bishop (2); and so was *Nestarius*, when he was named, by the Second General Council, to succeed *Gregory Nazianzen* in the See of *Constantinople* (3). *Eucherius* was but a Layman when chosen and ordained Bishop of *Lions* (4); and *Philogonius* of *Antioch* was carried, as *Chrysostom* informs us (5), from the Court of Judicature to the Bishop's Throne. And it is to be observed, that in those Days, a Layman, when named to the episcopal Dignity, was ordained Bishop at once, without any other previous Ordination.

(1) Paulin. vit. Ambros.
l. 5. c. 8. Sozom. l. 7. c. 8.

(5) Chryf. hom. 31. de Philog.

(2) Pontius in vit. Cypri.

(4) Hilar. Arelat. in vit. Honorat.

(3) Socrat.

Year of
Christ 769.

Sentence pro-
nounced
against Con-
stantine.

In the third Session the Council, that is, the Acts of the Council, that had confirmed the Election of *Constantine*, and not the Bishops, who composed it, as *Marianus Scotus* understood it, was burnt in the Presence of all, and *Constantine* himself condemned, as if no Punishment had yet been inflicted on him, to lead so long as he lived, shut up in a Monastery, the austere Life of a Penitent. This Sentence being pronounced, all, who had acknowledged him, and received the Eucharist at his Hands, in which Number was *Stephen* himself, tho' now so zealous for the ancient Practice of the Church, prostrating themselves on the Ground, begged Pardon of God for so great a Crime; and Penance was enjoined them, we know not by whom.

Decrees en-
acted by the
Council.

In the next Place, to deter and prevent others from intruding themselves by Force, after the Example of *Constantine*, into the Throne of St. *Peter*, they ordered the Canons of the Church to be brought in; which being publicly read, they issued a Decree, forbidding, on pain of Excommunication, any Person whatever to be thenceforth raised to the Pontifical Dignity, who had not previously passed through the inferior Degrees to that of Cardinal Deacon, or Cardinal Priest. And thus was that Dignity first confined to the Cardinal Deacons and Cardinal Priests(G). By the same Decree it

was

* Idem ibid.

(G) The Word *Cardinal* is derived from the *Latin* Word *cardo*, a Hinge, and signifies a Thing, upon which other Things hang or depend, as a Door does on its Hinges, that is, a chief or principal Thing. Thus the four chief Points of the Compass, and the Ecliptic, are called the *Cardinal Points*, the four chief moral Virtues the *Cardinal Virtues*; and the chief or leading Men among the *Donatists* are stiled, by St. *Austin*. the *Cardinal Donatists*(1). In like manner the principal Priests and Deacons of a Church were called the *Cardinal Priests*, the *Cardinal Deacons*, of that Church. But who were the principal Deacons and Priests, to whom the Name of Cardinals was appropriated, is not agreed amongst Authors. *Onuphrius Panvinus* is of Opinion, that as several Priests and Deacons belonged to one and the same Church, the Chief Priests and Deacons were those who presided over

the rest of their respective Orders in the same Church. Thus the Priest, for instance, who presided over all the Priests of the Church of St. *Balbina*, was stiled the Cardinal Priest of St. *Balbina*; and the Deacon, who presided over all Deacons of the Church of St. *Sabina*, was stiled the Cardinal Deacon of St. *Sabina*(2). According to this Interpretation, there must have been only one Cardinal Priest in each Church. But in the Works of Pope *Gregory the Great* we frequently read of several Cardinal Priests belonging to the same Church; and the Acts of a Council, which that Pope held at *Rome*, are signed by three Cardinal Priests of St. *Balbina*, by two of St. *Damasus*, two of St. *Sylvester*, and two of the Holy Apostles(3). By the Cardinal Priests *Salmasius* understands the Archpriests(4). But he is there in grossly mistaken, nothing being more certain, than that there were several Car-

(1) Aug. de Baptis. l. 1. c. 6.
titulis, &c.

(3) Greg. regist. l. 4. c. 88.

(2) Onuph. Panvin. lib. de Episcopatus,
(4) Salm. de Primat. c. 1.

dinal

Stephen III. BISHOPS of Rome.

23

was likewise enacted, and on Pain of Excommunication, that none should assist at the Election with Swords, Clubs, or any other Weapons. Year of Christ 769.

dinal Priests in the same City, and but one Archpriest. Besides, the Name of Cardinal is of a much later Date, and not to be found in any genuine Writer till the Time of *Gregory the Great*, the Council of *Rome* under Pope *Sylvester*, the only Authority alleged by *Bellarmino* (5) to prove it more ancient, being now universally rejected as a mere Fiction. Some think that the Cardinal Priests and Deacons were so called from their being fixed in the principal Churches, where Baptism might be administered, which were therefore stiled *Ecclesie* and *Tituli Cardinales* (6); so that the Name of *Cardinal* was, according to this Opinion, first given to the Place, and from the Place derived to the Persons. Others tell us, that when the Number of the Ecclesiastics was so increased in the populous Cities, that they could not all conveniently meet to regulate with the Bishops the Affairs of the Church, some Presbyters and Deacons were chosen out of the rest to be, as it were, the Bishop's Council, who were therefore called chief or *Cardinal* Presbyters and Deacons (7). *Machiavel* in his History of *Florence* gives us the following Account of the Original of Cardinals: "In the Pontificate, says he, of Pope " *Paschal* I. (created in 817.) the Curates " of *Rome* took upon them the pompous " Title of Cardinals, as being the Pope's " Ministers nearest to his Person, and " having a chief Share in his Election: " And their Authority encreased to that " Degree after they had found Means of " depriving the People of *Rome* of the " Right of electing the Pope, that the " Papal Dignity fell almost always upon " one of them (8)." In *Paschal*'s Time, and long after, such of them, as were only Deacons or Priests, signed all public Writings, as appears from several Councils held at *Rome*, after the Bishops, as inferior in Rank to them. But when the Papal Dignity was restrained to them, as it was by the present Council; and they had besides engrossed to themselves the

Power of electing the Pope, their Dignity encreased with his, till he became superior, and they equal to the greatest Princes of the Earth. Thus what was originally no Degree at all, nor Order in the Church, became, in Process of Time, the highest Degree after the Papal, and was courted as such by the greatest Bishops. A most political Institution! For thus the Popes were supply'd with the Means of gaining and attaching to their See the most eminent Prelates of the different Christian Kingdoms, who, being once vested with that Dignity, looked upon the Interests of the Apostolic See as their own, since they might be raised to it in their Turn. The Cardinals, tho' thus distinguished by their Rank, wore no peculiar Habit nor Badge of their Dignity till the Time of Pope *Innocent* IV. who having created 12 Cardinals in a Council he held at *Lions* in 1244, allowed them to wear thenceforth a red Hat, to declare thereby, that they were ready to defend the *Roman* Church, then grievously oppressed by the Emperor *Frederic* II. at the Expence of their Heads or their Lives (9). *Paul* II. raised to the See in 1464, added the red Garment and Cap, to be worn by all but Monks and Friars: And to them too the red Cap was granted in 1560. by Pope *Gregory* XIV. Lastly, That they might not be distinguished by their Habit alone, *Urban* VIII. chosen in 1623, granted them, by a special Bull, the Title of *Most Eminent*. It is to be observed, that in other Cities, as well as in *Rome*, there were Cardinal Priests and Cardinal Deacons: But that Title was in 1543. suppressed by *Paul* III. in all Churches but the *Roman*. And now all Cardinals, to what Church soever they belonged before their Creation, stile themselves after it *Cardinals of the holy Roman Church*. They are the Pope's Counsellors; and with them he advises in all Matters of Moment, as he formerly did with the neighbouring Bishops, but is not bound to follow their Advice.

(5) Bellar. de Cleric. l. i. c. 16.
Irenic. part 2. c. 7.
Panvin. in not. ad vit. Innoc. IV.

(6) Idem ibid.
(8) Machiavel. Istor. di Firenz. l. i.

(7) Stillingfl.
(9) Onuph.

Year of
Christ 769.

pon, and that none, coming from *Campania* or *Tuscany*, should be admitted into the City till the Election was made. As to the Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops, who had been ordained by *Constantine*, it was decreed, that they should be chosen anew in their respective Cities; that repairing to *Rome* with the Decree of their Election, they should there be re-ordained by the Pope, and that the Deacons and Presbyters should be for ever excluded from the Episcopal Dignity. It was added, that the Laymen, whom *Constantine* had preferred to any Rank in the Church, should never be admitted among the Clergy, but wear, as Penitents, a religious Habit so long as they lived^f. No Punishment was inflicted upon those who had acknowledged *Constantine* and communicated with him, the Pope himself being one of that Number.

Deacons,
Presbyters,
and Bishops,
ordained by
Constantine,
ordered to be
re-ordained.

As Ordination is no more to be reiterated, according to the present Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, than Baptism, and it is thought a Sacrilege in that Church to reiterate either, the Popish Writers take a great deal of Pains, and above all *Natalis Alexander*, to convince us, that the Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops, ordained by *Constantine*, were not, by the Decree of the present Council, to be ordained anew, but only to be restored, by the Imposition of Hands, to the free Exercise of their respective Offices, from which they were suspended on account of their unlawful Ordination. But *Anastasius*, the only Writer, who gives us an Account of that Council, says that those Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons were, by the Decree of the Council, to be all consecrated anew; and to consecrate and ordain are with that Writer, as might be shown by innumerable Instances, synonymous Terms. Besides, *Anastasius* tells us in express Words, that *by the same Council it was decreed, that all Things, relating to the Sacraments of the Church, and the Worship of God, done by Constantine, should be reiterated, except Baptism, and the sacred Chrism^h*: And he knew better, as we may well suppose (for he flourished not quite a hundred Years after the Time of this Council) what was, and what was not to be reiterated, than either *Natalis* or *Baronius*.

The Worship
of Images ap-
proved by this
Council.

The Acts of *Constantine* being thus annulled, and such Measures agreed on as seemed the most proper to prevent, for the future, all Force and Violence in the Election of the Pope, in the fourth and

^f Idem ibid.
n. 6.

^h Natal. Alex. sec. 8. c. 1. art. 8. & Bar. ad Ann. 769. p. 300.
Anast. in Steph. III.

last Session other Matters were settled, and among the rest the Point relating to the Use and the Worship of Images, a Point, which the Popes had now, for the Space of near fifty Years, never concerned themselves with, being too much taken up with State-affairs to attend to those of Religion. What was the Determination of the Council concerning that Article *Anastasius* informs us in a few Words: The Testimonies of the Fathers, says he, in behalf of Images, were produced and most carefully examined; and it being found, upon the strictest Examination and Enquiry, that Images had been used and worshipped by the Christians since the earliest Times, that the Popes and all the holy Fathers had ever approved, recommended, and promoted their Use and their Worship, it was decreed, that Images should not only be retained but be honoured and worshipped, and the execrable Synod, that had been lately assembled in Greece to break and destroy them (the Council of *Constantinople*, which consisted of 338 Bishops, and spent six Months in examining what a few Bishops are said here to have *most carefully examined* in a few Hours) was condemned, rejected, and accursed. Of this Council some Fragments occur in the Letter Pope *Adrian* wrote to *Charlemagne* in Defence of the second Council of *Nice*; and from them we learn, that a Passage was alleged by the *French* Bishop *Herulphus* out of Pope *Gregory the Great* to show, that the Worship of Images was approved by that Pope; and another by *Sergius* of *Ravenna* out of St. *Ambrose* saying that a Person appeared to him resembling St. *Paul* as represented by his Image¹. But that no Iconoclast was ever more averse to the Worship of Images than Pope *Gregory the Great*, tho' he was against breaking them, has been shown elsewhere^m; and from the Saying of St. *Ambrose* we can only conclude, that in his Time, or in the latter End of the 4th Century, there were Images of St. *Paul*, which we do not deny, the Use of Images having been introduced, as I have observed elsewhereⁿ, about that Time. From the same Letter of Pope *Adrian* it appears, that by the very learned Bishops of the present Assembly great Stress was laid on the Image, which our Saviour was said to have sent of himself to *Abgarus*, King of *Edeffa*. But should we allow all that has been said of that Image to be true, and the Letter, which our Saviour is supposed to have written on that Occasion, to be as au-

Year of
Christ 769.

Upon what
Grounds they
approved it.

¹ See vol. 3. p. 202, & seq.
ad Carol. mag. 28. act. 5.

^m Anast. ubi supra.
ⁿ See vol. 3. p. 233.

¹ Epist. Hadrian.
² See vol. 3. p. 229.

Year of
Christ 769.

thentic and genuine as *Stephen* and *Adrian* believed it, it would from thence only follow, that the Use of Images was approved by our Saviour to put us in mind of him, nothing else being said of that Image in the Letter, but that it was sent to satisfy the Desire King *Abgarus* had of seeing *Jesus*, and to convince him by so miraculous an Effigie, that the Miracles he had wrought were not impossible. But the whole is a mere Fable, as has been shown in the preceding Volume^o; and we need no better Proof of the Ignorance, that universally prevailed in the Times, when the Worship of Images was established, than to find such fabulous Stories, gravely related, and firmly believed by the Bishops, the Popes and the Councils of those Days.

The Pope
presses the
King of the
Lombards to
deliver up
some Places
he still kept.

As several Cities, that had been yielded by the Treaty of *Pavia* to the Apostolic See, were still kept by the *Lombards*, *Stephen* had no sooner dismissed the Council, than laying aside all Thoughts of Images and ecclesiastic Affairs, he began to press *Desiderius* to deliver up those Places without further Delay, threatening, if he did not forthwith comply with his just Demands, to recur to his beloved Sons the two Kings of *France Charles* and *Carloman*, who, he said, had signed that Treaty as well as King *Pepin* their Father, and had bound themselves by a solemn Oath to employ, if necessary, the whole Strength of their Kingdom in procuring the Execution of the Articles it contained. As it was at the Instigation of *Christopher* and his Son *Sergius*, of whom I have spoken above, that the Pope, who was entirely directed and governed by their Counsels, thus insisted on the immediate Execution of the Treaty, and they trusting in the Protection of *France* diverted him from hearkening to any Terms of an Accommodation with the *Lombards*, *Desiderius* resolved to remove them, by some means or other, out of the way. With that View he privately applied to *Paul Afiarta*, the Pope's Chamberlain, by Nation a *Lombard*, and one, in whom the Pope reposed an entire Confidence, conveying to him by means of his Emissaries in *Rome* many rich Presents, and promising him a great Reward, provided he prevailed on the Pope to dismiss his two favourite Ministers. This *Paul* readily undertook; and having accordingly with artful Insinuations, with censuring their Conduct, and misconstruing their Measures, greatly lessened the Confidence the Pope had placed in them, and the high Opinion he entertained of their Integrity, and

Great Disturbances
raised in
Rome by the
Friends of
the King.

Stephen III. BISHOPS of Rome.

27

Zeal for his Welfare, and that of his Sec, he at last assured him, that they had formed a Design of murdering him, and making themselves Sovereigns of *Rome*, which they governed already with an uncontrolled Power and absolute Sway. This bare-faced Calumny he caused to be published by his Friends and Accomplices among the People; which, as it was by some believed, and disbelieved by others, gave Rise to two opposite Factions; and thereupon great Divisions, Animosities, Tumults daily ensued in the City.

Year of
Christ 769.

Of these Disturbances *Desiderius* was soon informed by his Friends, and being resolved to avail himself of them he drew together, in great Haste, a considerable Body of Troops, and marching at their Head towards *Rome*, gave out that he intended to visit the holy Places there, and confer in Person with the Pope, which, he said, was the most expeditious way of settling, to their mutual Satisfaction, all Points in Dispute. But his true Design was to foment the Disturbances, to support *Paul* and his Friends, to crush the opposite Party, and get the two Ministers, with such Persons of Note as adhered to them, destroyed or delivered up into his Hands. But they, receiving timely Notice of his March, and suspecting his Design, took care to defeat it, assembling for that Purpose, with incredible Expedition, and bringing into the City a numerous Militia from *Tuscany*, *Campania*, and the Dukedom of *Perugia*; insomuch that the King, finding, as he drew near, the Gates all shut, and the Walls well defended, encamped his Army in the Meadows of *Nero*, and went himself, attended only by his Guards, to the Church of *St. Peter* then without the City. From thence he sent some of his chief Lords to acquaint the Pope, that he was come to confer with him in Person, and to beg, that since he was not allowed to enter the City, tho' he had no hostile Designs, his Holiness would be pleased to grant him an Interview in the Church of the Apostle *St. Peter*, since he could not but be sensible, that their Differences would be more easily made up by themselves than their Ministers. The Pope, suspecting no Treachery, readily comply'd with the Request of the King. But the Conference was scarce begun, when the Pope was obliged to interrupt it, and hasten back into the City. In his Absence *Paul* and his Accomplices had raised the Mob, as was agreed between them and the King of the *Lombards*, against the two Ministers with a Design to destroy them. But they repelling, with the Assistance of their Friends, whom they quickly assembled, Force by Force, a Skir-

Who advances to Rome with his Army.

The Pope grants him an Interview in the Church of St. Peter.

Year of
Christ 769.

His Party
overpowered
in Rome.

mish ensued, in which the Party of *Paul* was in the end overpowered and obliged to take Shelter in the *Lateran Palace*. Thither the Conquerors pursued them, and entering, Sword in Hand, the Basilic itself, would have dragged them from thence and put them to Death, had not the Pope, who was there, severely reprimanded them and obliged them to retire.

In a second
Interview he
obliges the
Pope to dis-
miss his two
favourite
Ministers.

The Tumult being thus appeased, and all quiet in the City, the Pope returned the next Day to the Conference. But the King, finding the Attempt of *Paul* had proved unsuccessful, instead of entering upon Business, broke unexpectedly out into most bitter Complaints and Invectives against the two Tyrants, as he called them, who not satisfied with usurping the Power and tyrannically abusing it to the Oppression of the unhappy People of *Rome*, had most wickedly conspired against the Life of his Holiness, with a Design of usurping the Sovereignty as well as the Power. He then ordered all the Gates of the Church to be shut, declaring, as if he had nothing in his View but the Safety of the Pope, for which he expressed the greatest Concern, that neither his Holiness nor any of his Retinue should stir from thence, till the two Traitors were dismissed from their Employments, and divested of all Power. The Pope, now in the Power of the *Lombards* and in a manner their Prisoner, immediately dispatched two Bishops of his Retinue into the City to declare *Christopher* and his Son *Sergius* dismissed from his Service, and command them, in his Name, to retire forthwith into a Monastery, or, if they were conscious of their Innocence, to repair to the Church of *St. Peter*, and there make it appear to the King of the *Lombards* and to him. They were well apprised of the Design of the King, that he only wanted to get them into his Power, and that it was not of his own accord that the Pope had sent them such a Message or Command, but at his Insigation and to gratify him. They therefore returned Answer, that they should make their Innocence appear to his Holiness, to whom alone they were accountable for their Conduct, on his Return into the City; but would, in the mean time, continue with their Friends to defend it till the *Lombards* were retired, and his Holiness left at full Liberty to absolve or condemn them, as he should find them, upon a fair Trial, innocent or guilty. But as disgraced Ministers, generally speaking, have no Friends, it was no sooner known in the City that the Pope had discharged them, than they found themselves abandoned by all, even by their nearest

Rela-

Stephen III. BISHOPS of Rome.

29

Year of
Christ 769.

Relations, among whom was Duke *Gratiosus*, their Cousin-german, a Man of great Power and Authority with the People of *Rome*. And now the Party of *Paul* prevailing in the City, the two unhappy Ministers resolved to quit it, and repairing to the Pope in the *Vatican*, (the King of the *Lombards* being returned to his Camp,) to throw themselves at his Feet, and having satisfied him of their Innocence, implore his Protection. They got accordingly over the Walls in the Night; but falling on the Centinels of the *Lombards*, they were carried by them to their King, who sent them the next Day to the Pope. The Pope had engaged his Word to the King that they should be no more employ'd; and therefore would not suffer them to utter a single Word in their Defence, but let them know, as soon as they appeared before him, that they must take the Monkish Habit and spend the rest of their Lives in a Monastery. The same Day the Pope and the King met the third Time in the Church of *St. Peter*, when the King promised upon Oath, and he took it, says *Anastasius*, on the Body of *St. Peter*, to satisfy his Holiness as to all his Pretensions and Claims as soon as he returned to his Kingdom. They then took Leave of each other, the Pope returning into the City, and the King to his Camp.

As for *Christopher* and *Sergius*, the Pope, desirous of saving their ^{Whom he} Lives, as he was indebted to them for his Dignity, left them in the ^{seizes, and} Church of *St. Peter*, the King having promised not to molest them; ^{uses with} and they were to enter the City in the Night to avoid falling into the ^{great Bar-} Hands of *Paul* and the Mob of his Party, who, the Pope well knew, sought their Destruction. But *Paul* and the King, apprehending they might make their Escape in the dark, and perhaps be re-admitted to the Confidence and Favour of the Pope, to prevent their being ever more employed, dragged them before Night from their Asylum, and caused their Eyes to be plucked out in so barbarous a Manner, that *Christopher* died the third Day of the Pain. *Sergius* survived it, but it was only to be kept closely confined so long as the Pope lived, and barbarously murdered as soon as he died. Such is the Account the Bibliothecarian gives us of the Cause and the Issue of the present Disturbances: And it is to be observed, that *Christopher* and *Sergius* were, as the ruling Ministers, the chief Authors of all the Cruelties, that were practised upon the Antipope *Constantine*, and all, who adhered to him, many of whom were shut up in Monasteries,

* Anast. in Steph. III. & Hadrian.

Year of
Christ 769.

as we have seen, after they had been most barbarously deprived of their Sight, a Punishment scarce ever used, before their Time, in the West. Their having therefore undergone the very same Punishment may be looked upon as a just Retaliation, and would have been construed by *Baronius* into a manifest Judgment, had they been Iconoclasts, or no Friends to the Pope.

The Pope excuses the King in his Letter to Charlemagne,

The Account, which the Pope himself gives of this Matter in a Letter he wrote to Queen *Bertrad* and her Son *Charlemagne*, is very different from that, which we read in *Anastasius*. For in that Letter the Pope tells them, that *Christopher* and *Sergius* had, in Concert with *Dodo*, the Ambassador of *Carloman*, conspired against his Life, and broken into the *Lateran* Palace, nay and into the *Basilic* itself with a Design to murder him; that he had, with the utmost Difficulty, escaped their Fury, and taken Refuge in the Church of St. *Peter*, from whence he had sent two Bishops to command *Christopher* and *Sergius*, in his Name, to repair to him, which they refusing to do, the People, acquainted with their wicked Design, had seized them, and carried them to him by Force; that the incensed Populace were for tearing them in Pieces; that he, to save them, had attempted to get them brought into the City in the Dead of the Night; but that they had unfortunately fallen into the Hands of their Enemies, who had put out their Eyes, he calls God to witness, without his Consent, or even his Privy. He adds, that he owes his Life to the Protection of God and St. *Peter*, and after them to his most excellent Son *Desiderius*, King of the *Lombards*, who happened very luckily to be then at *Rome*, and who, he says, had entirely satisfied him as to all his Demands.

which was probably dictated by the King of the Lombards.

As on the one Hand it appears not only from the Account of *Anastasius*, but from the whole Conduct of *Christopher* and *Sergius*, that, far from conspiring against the Pope, or affecting the Sovereignty of *Rome*, they had nothing so much at Heart as the Interest and Welfare of the Apostolic See; and on the other it is very certain, that when the Pope wrote that Letter not one of the many Places he claimed had been yet delivered up to him, *Le Coint* is of Opinion, and so is *F. Pagi*, that the Letter was dictated by the King, while the Pope was still in his Power, and kept by him, in a Manner, Prisoner in the *Vatican*. As to what is said there of *Dodo*,

^r Cod. Carolin. ep. 46.
Bar. ad ann. 770. n. 2.

^e Le Coint. ad ann. 769. n. 7.

^t Pagi Crit.

Stephen III. BISHOPS of Rome.

31

the Ambassador of *Carloman*, he might, say these Writers, have joined the two Ministers, who were Friends to *France*, against *Paul* and his Party, who favoured the *Lombards*, and together with them broken into the *Lateran*, as has been related above. The same Authors add, that as *Charlemagne* could not but condemn the Conduct of *Dodo* as represented in that Letter, *Desiderius* hoped by that means to foment and encrease the Misunderstanding that subsisted, at this Time, between the two Brothers, and thus divert them from uniting their Forces against him in Favour of the Pope. However that be, it is agreed on all Hands, that several Untruths were advanced by the Pope in that Letter.

Year of
Christ 769.

Desiderius having thus removed out of the way the two Ministers, whom he looked upon as his Enemies, and the Enemies of his Nation, returned to his Capital; whither he was soon followed by two Legates sent by the Pope to challenge the Performance of the Promise he had made, and sworn upon the Tomb of St. *Peter* to observe. They met with a very cold Reception from the King, who interrupting them as soon as they mentioned the Treaty of *Pavia* and his Promise, What Treaty, said he, what Promise? Does not his Holiness owe more to me than I owe to him? Have I not delivered him from imminent Destruction and the People of *Rome* from imminent Slavery? And is this his Gratitude? And does he thus repay such eminent Services? But if he has so quickly forgotten the Obligations he owes me, he will soon be obliged to court my Protection and Favour anew. The Treatment, which *Christopher* and *Sergius*, who were under the Protection of *Carloman* and acted by his Order, have met with, has highly provoked that Prince; and he will soon appear in *Italy* at the Head of an Army to revenge it. The *Lombards* alone are able to withstand him; and his Holiness has no other possible Means of escaping the impending Vengeance but by recurring to them. He then proposed an Alliance between the Apostolic See and the *Lombards*, magnified the Advantages, that would accrue from such an Alliance to both, and pretending great Zeal for the Safety of the Pope, whom, he said, *Carloman* was determined to carry with him, as his Prisoner, into *France*, entreated the Legates to persuade his Holiness to accept, before the *French* had entered *Italy* and it was too late, the Offer he made of his Alliance and Friendship.

The King of
the Lombards refuses
to perform
the Promise
he had made
to the Pope.

Strives to
persuade him
to enter into
an Alliance
with the
Lombards.

† Anast. in Hadrian.

Charlemagne

Year of
Christ 769.

The Pope at
a Loss what
Measures to
pursue.

Charlemagne and *Carloman* were quarrelling, at this very Time, about their respective Shares of the Dominions of their Father, who had, by his Will, divided them between them; the People of *Aquitaine*, but very lately subdued by *Pepin*, had revolted upon the News of his Death, and *Thassilo*, Duke of *Bavaria*, had already begun to act more like a Sovereign than a Vassal, and seemed strongly inclined to shake off the Yoke. Neither *Charlemagne* therefore nor *Carloman* could think of marching an Army, at this Juncture, into *Italy*. But *Desiderius* proposed, by thus alarming the Pope, to frighten him into an Alliance with him; which he knew would disoblige the *French*; and he might, by that means, be abandoned by them, and left entirely at the Mercy of the *Lombards*. The Report of the Legates perplexed the Pope beyond Expression. *Paul*, and those of his Party, pressed him to agree to the proposed Alliance, and to put himself, without Delay, under the Protection of the *Lombards*, who were near at hand to protect and defend him against all his Enemies. Others loudly declared against his hearkening to any Proposals whatever from that Quarter, advising him steadily to adhere, at all Events, to the *French*; and the Pope, being himself no deep Politician, was quite at a Loss what Measures to pursue. But from this Perplexity he was soon delivered by a solemn, and as seasonable as unexpected an Embassy from *France*. It consisted of a Bishop, an Abbot, and two Lords of great Distinction; and they were sent by the two Kings to impart to his Holiness the agreeable News of their entire Reconciliation, and assure him, at the same Time, that they were determined to maintain *St. Peter* and him, against the *Greeks* as well as the *Lombards*, in the quiet Possession of all the Places their Father had given them. The Pope had assured the Queen and her Son *Charlemagne*, in his Letter to them mentioned above, that the King of the *Lombards* had entirely satisfied him as to all his Demands. That the two Kings seem to have taken for granted; and therefore supposing his Holiness already possessed of the Places he claimed, they only signified to him, at present, their Resolution of maintaining him undisturbed in the Possession of those Places. But the Pope took care to undeceive them, assuring them, as his Holiness was not, on this Occasion, ashamed to give himself the Lie, by a Letter, which he wrote to both Kings on the Return of their Embassadors, that the perfidious King (to whom he had owed himself in his former Letter indebted for his Life) had yet complied with none

Delivered
from all Per-
plexity by a
solemn Em-
bassy from
Charles and
Carloman.
Year of
Christ 770.

of his Demands, and begging they would give no sort of Credit to any, who should tell them, that he had, notwithstanding all his Promises, delivered up, to that Day, a single Village, nay or a Foot of Ground to St. *Peter*. In the same Letter, after congratulating his two most Christian Sons upon their Reconciliation, which he is confident will redound to the Exaltation of their holy Mother the Church, he conjures them over and over again by that God, who has placed them on the Throne, to cause Justice to be done, and to be done without Delay, to St. *Peter* and his Vicar: Reminds them of the Promise they made together with their Father of *holy Memory*; exhorts them to tread in his Foot-steps, and lastly begs them seriously to reflect on the Account they must one Day give, at the tremendous Tribunal of Christ, to the Prince of the Apostles, (not to Christ), if they neglect or even delay putting that Apostle and his Vicar in Possession of every Inch of Ground, that was given and consecrated to them by the great and most religious King their Father. Thus the Pope: But as notwithstanding the boasted Reconciliation, some Remains were still left of the ancient Jealousy between the two Brothers, neither thought it advisable to engage, at this juncture, for the Sake of the Pope, in a War with the *Lombards*, who, they knew, would not comply with his Demands unless forced to it by an unsuccessful War.

Year of
Christ 770.

Complains in
his Letter to
them of the
King of the
Lombards.

But both de-
cline breaking
at present
with the
Lombards.

And now the King of the *Lombards*, despairing of being able to take the Pope off from his Attachment to the *French*, resolved to leave nothing unattempted to take the *French* off from their Attachment to the Pope. With that View he caused Proposals to be privately made of a Marriage between his Son *Adalgisus* and the Princess *Gisel*, Sister to the two Kings; and at the same time offered his Daughter *Desideria* in Marriage to either of those Princes. This he thought the most effectual Means of closely uniting the two Families; and he did not at all doubt but that he should be able, if the proposed Alliances took Place, to divert the two Kings from insisting on the Execution, at least on the full Execution, of the Treaty of *Pavia*. There was no Impediment to obstruct the Marriage of *Adalgisus* and *Gisel*; and but one to obstruct that of *Desideria* with either of the Princes, *viz.* that both were married and their Wives were living. But that, in those Days of Ignorance, was scarce looked upon, at least in *France*, as an Impediment, as appears from

A Marriage
proposed by
the King of
the Lom-
bards between
his Son and
the Sister of
the two Kings,
and between
his Daughter
and either of
them.

¶ Cod. Carol. ep. 47.

Year of
Christ 770.

Charle-
magne is per-
suaded by the
Queen to
marry the
King's
Daughter.

the many Divorces we read of in that and the two following Centuries, nay and from the Decisions of a Council held in *France* but a few Years before (H). The abovementioned Proposals were, it seems, secretly made to Queen *Bertrad*, the Mother of the two Princes, to whose Counsels great Deference was paid, as the King of the *Lombards* well knew, in all Matters of Moment by both, especially by *Charlemagne*; and she not only hearkened to them with great Joy, but undertook to bring the intended Alliance about. Her thus so readily engaging in such an Undertaking was owing to her Zeal for the Welfare of her Children and the Good of the Kingdom. She was sensible, that the Reconciliation between the two Brothers, would be but of a very short Duration, *Carleman*, who was naturally of a restless and turbulent Temper, being still dissatisfied with the Share allotted him of his Father's Dominions. Besides, she knew that he was encouraged and animated underhand against his Brother by the King of the *Lombards*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Son-in-law of that King (for he had married *Lutberg* the King's other Daughter) with a Design of kindling a Civil War in the Bowels of *France*. The Queen therefore, satisfied that she could by no other Means more effectually prevail upon those Princes to abandon *Carleman*, and side with *Charlemagne*, than by persuading the latter to

(H) The Council held in 753. at *Verberie*, a royal Villa in the Neighbourhood of *Compiègne*. By that Council Divorces were allowed in the following Cases: If the Wife conspired against the Life of her Husband; if either was a Slave, but thought free at the Time of the Marriage by the other; if the Wife refused to accompany her Husband, when obliged to remove from one Country to another, or from one Place of the Country to another; if the Husband was found to have had a criminal Conversation with his Wife's Sister, or her Mother; if he had never had any Commerce with his Wife, whether that was owing to Aversion, or to Impotency; if both being Slaves, the Husband should obtain his Liberty and not the Wife. In all these Cases the Party was allowed to marry again (1). In more ancient Times Divorces were, in many Cases, allowed by the Imperial Laws, but by the Ecclesiastical Laws only in the Case of Adultery,

or of malicious Desertion. Whether, after a lawful Divorce, the Husband might marry again, during the Life-time of his divorced Wife, or the Wife, during the Life-time of her divorced Husband? is a Question, that has divided both Councils and Fathers. Such Marriages were allowed in some Churches and forbidden in others; but of these different Practices the Reader will find a curious and learned Account in the Notes upon *Hermes Pastor* by *Cotelerius* (2). I shall only observe here, that Marriages of Children under Age, without the Consent of their Parents or their Guardians, were null by the Laws both of the Church and the Empire; that Slaves or Nurses, who had been any ways instrumental in bringing such Marriages about, were to be burnt alive or to have melted Lead poured down their Throats, and that the Man was to be punished as guilty of Fornication and the Woman as a Harlot (3).

(1) Sirmond. Concil. Gallic. tom. 2.

(2) Coteler. Patres Apostol. t. 1. p. 88.

(3) Cod. Theodos. l. 9. tit. 24. & l. 3. tit. 7, &c.

marry

Stephen III. BISHOPS of Rome.

35

marry the Daughter of the one and the Sister-in-law of the other, earnestly entreated and pressed him to agree to that Marriage; and ^{Year of} ~~he~~ ^{Christ 770.} agreed to it accordingly.

Of this Negotiation, how secretly soever carried on, the Pope was ^{The Pope} soon informed; and no sooner was he informed of it, than he re-^{opposes the} solved to oppose it to the utmost of his Power, to exert all his Apostolic Authority, and leave nothing unattempted to defeat the *wicked Measures and Designs of the Queen*; wicked, because likely to prove, in the End, prejudicial to the temporal Interest of his See, tho' intended to unite two Christian Princes, and prevent, by their Union, destructive Wars, and the Effusion of much Christian Blood. In the same Manner, and upon the same Principle, that of Self-interest, Pope *Paul* opposed, as we have seen², the intended Alliance and Union between *France* and the Empire, as unlawful and wicked; and this has been, as we shall see in the Sequel, the Policy of the Popes since the Time they were first possessed of temporal Dominions to the present, to prostitute their Authority, and with their Authority all Faith, Morality and Religion, to worldly Views; to preach Concord and Discord among Christian Princes as they found it turn most to their Interest to preach the one or the other; and to chuse that the World should rather be deluged in Christian Blood than that they should forego, or run the Risque of foregoing the least temporal Advantage. In the present Case Pope *Stephen*, no less alarmed at the Measures that were taken to establish a good Understanding between the *French* and the *Lombards*, than if the Whole of the Faith and the Christian Religion had depended upon a Misunderstanding between those two Nations, dispatched in great Haste two Legates into *France* with a Letter to both the young Princes, to divert them, ^{and strives to} with Prayers, Menaces, Anathemas, and all the Motives and Rea-^{divert the} sons he could think of, from the intended Alliance, or any kind of ^{two Princes} Connection whatever with the wicked, perfidious, and accursed Na-^{from the in-} tion of the *Lombards*. ^{tended Alli-} ^{ance.}

This Letter he begins with informing the two Kings, that the ^{His Letter to} Author of our Race; the first Man (so far he goes back) was seduced ^{them.} by a Woman; that Death and the numberless Evils Mankind now groan under were all brought into the World by a Woman; that Women are the Instruments and Tools of the Devil; and therefore exhorts the young Princes to be upon their Guard, and not suffer

² See above, p. 9.

Year of
Christ 770.

their Hearts to be ensnared and captivated by their Charms. Thus far he abuses Women in general; and one would think he intended to inspire Men with an Aversion to all Women, even to their Wives. In the next Place he tells the Kings, that he has heard, with the deepest Concern, that the King of the *Lombards* was negotiating a Marriage between one of them and his Daughter; expresses great Surprize at the consummate Wickedness of those, who have dared to propose such a Match; and wonders that his most Christian Sons should have suffered such a Proposal to be made, or should not have rejected it, as soon as it was made, with the utmost Indignation and Horror. He then paints the *Lombards* as of all Nations the most wicked, the most perfidious, the most despicable; as a Herd of Savages scarce deserving the Name of a Nation; as a People accursed of God and bearing the visible Marks of that Curse in the Plague of Leprosy common among them; as of all the Nations on the Earth by far the most unworthy of so great an Honour, as that of being allied to the *French*, of all Nations the greatest, the most religious, the most illustrious, the most glorious, and as much above, as the *Lombards* are below, the rest of Mankind. And what Fellowship, says he, has Righteousness with Unrighteousness? What Communion has Light with Darkness? He adds, that the *Lombards* are a strange Nation with respect to the *French*, and that Marriages with strange Women, or Women of strange Nations, are frequently condemned in the Scriptures; thus ignorantly or wickedly perverting the Sense of the Scripture, as if Men were there forbidden to marry Women of a different Nation from their own, tho' professing the same Faith and Religion with their own. In the second Place he alleges against the proposed Marriage what he ought to have alleged in the first, and indeed what alone could, in the present Case, be of any Weight; *viz.* that both Princes were already married, and that Christians are not allowed to have two Wives at a Time, or to put one away at Pleasure, and take another to their Bed in her Room. Here he tells them, that King *Pepin*, their Father, had once proposed to divorce their Mother, but that Pope *Stephen*, his holy Predecessor, representing to him the Enormity of that Crime, he had laid aside so impious a Thought, and lived happily with her to the Day of his Death; exhorts them to follow, like dutiful Children, the Example of their Father, and above all Things to avoid, as they tendered the Protection and Favour of *St. Peter*, having any kind of

Con-

Stephen III. BISHOPS of Rome.

37

Connexion with the accursed Nation of the *Lombards*, the avowed ^{Year of} Enemies of that Apostle and his favourite People. The rest of the ^{Christ 770.} Letter is filled with heavy Complaints against the *Lombards*, and he closes it with entreating and conjuring the two Kings over and over again to hearken to his Admonitions, and threatening them, if they did not, with the Indignation of St. *Peter*, and in consequence thereof with eternal Damnation. "If any one, says he, shall presume to act contrary to this our Admonition, we declare him, by the Authority of our Lord St. *Peter*, deprived for ever of the Protection of that Apostle, anathematized, excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven, and destined to burn eternally in Hell-fire with the Devil." This Letter the Pope laid on the Tomb of St. *Peter*, and having there celebrated Divine Service, sent it from thence, by the two Legates, into *France*.

But neither the Reasons alleged by the Pope against the proposed ^{The Queen} Marriage (which were indeed all absurd and ridiculous, except the ^{however pre-} Unlawfulness of Divorce, and Divorces were allowed at this Time ^{vails on} on the most trifling Occasions in *France*) nor his Entreaties, Me- ^{Charles to} naces, Anathemas, were capable of diverting the Queen from pur- ^{agree to the} suing a Design, that appeared to her the best calculated of any to ^{Match.} maintain the Tranquillity and Peace of the Kingdom: Nay, ^{Year of} so much ^{Christ 771.} had she at Heart the bringing it to a happy Issue, that, trusting no other, she undertook to manage the whole Matter herself. Having accordingly persuaded her eldest Son *Charles* to consent to the Match, notwithstanding all the Remonstrances of the Pope, and his Legates against it, she set out for *Italy* to settle, in Person, with the King of the *Lombards*, the Terms of the intended Alliance. She had an Interview with her Son *Carloman* at a Place called *Salossa*; and from thence she repaired to the Court of *Bavaria* to divert that Duke from attempting to shake off the Yoke, which he, depending on the Assistance and Friendship of the *Lombards*, seemed strongly inclined to attempt. From the Court of *Bavaria* she pursued her Journey to that of *Pavia*, and having there settled the Marriage-articles to her entire Satisfaction, and the entire Satisfaction of the King, she resolved to try, before she left *Italy*, whether his Holiness might not be prevailed upon, by some Means or other, if not openly, to approve, at least not to oppose her Design. With that View she continued her Journey to *Rome*, was received there by the Pope; the

Year of
Christ 771.

and on the
Pope not to
oppose it.

Clergy, and the People, as the Widow of *Pepin* and the Mother of the two *French* Kings, with all possible Marks of Distinction; and had, during her Stay in that City, several private Conferences with the Pope; the Result of which seems to have been, that his Holiness should no longer oppose the designed Marriage, and that the King of the *Lombards* should, in consideration thereof, deliver up, before his Daughter set out for *France*, certain Places, which he had hitherto withheld from the Apostolic See, and solemnly engage to live thenceforth in Peace and Amity with the Pope and the People of *Rome*. This, I say, seems to have been the Result of those Conferences; it being certain, that *Desiderius* delivered up several Places to the Pope at the Request of the Queen, while she was yet in *Italy*; that she set out, as soon as the Pope was put in Possession of them, on her Return to *France* with the King's Daughter; that on her Arrival *Charlemagne*, divorcing his lawful Wife, married her², and that no further Opposition is said to have been made to that Marriage either by the Pope or his Legates. Thus what was an *enormous Crime*, when likely to prove prejudicial to the Interest of the Apostolic See, became no Crime, or a Crime to be connived at, when it turned to Advantage of that See (1).

² Vet. Annal. & Annal. Petav. ad Ann. 770. Eginard. in vit. Carol.

(1) Some to excuse the Pope first condemning that Marriage as an *enormous Crime*, and afterwards approving, or at least not disapproving it, would make us believe, that the first Marriage of *Charles* was null; that the Pope was not acquainted therewith when he condemned his second Marriage as a Crime, but was when he approved it, having been assured of its Nullity by the Queen: And it was, say they, to gratify her, after she had prevailed on the King of the *Lombards* to yield to him the Places he claimed, that he consented at last to that Match. But the contemporary Historians all suppose the first Marriage of *Charles* to have been a true Marriage, and speak of his Divorce as a Thing, that gave great Offence. *Paschasius Radbertus* among the rest, an Author of great Note, who flourished about the Middle of the next Century, and wrote the Life of St. *Adalhard*, the Brother of *Pepin*, and Uncle of the two Kings, tells us, that all

good Men were greatly scandalized at the King's putting away his lawful Wife *without any just Cause* and marrying another, and that *Adalhard* in particular was shocked to such a Degree at so wicked an Action, that quitting a Court, where such Wickedness was countenanced, and with it the World, he retired to a Monastery, tho' at that Time only in the 20th Year of his Age (1). Besides, it was not only because *Charles* was already married that the Pope opposed his Marriage with the Daughter of *Desiderius*; but because she was, according to him, a *strange Woman*, and Marriages with strange Women are condemned in Scripture. And how will they excuse his Holiness consenting to a Match, which he had condemned on that Account? Did the Queen remove that Scruple too, and teach the infallible Interpreter of the Scripture the true Meaning of the Scripture?

(1) Pasch. in Vit. S. Adal. apud Mabill. *secul.* 4. *Penedictin.* part 1.

Hadrian

BISHOPS of Rome.

39

Of this Pope no further mention is made till the Time of his ^{Stephen dies.} Death, which happened on the second of *February* 772, after he had ^{Year of} governed the *Roman* Church three Years, five Months, and twenty ^{Christ 772.} Days^a.

CONSTANTINE,
LEO,
CONSTANTINE-
PORPHYROGENITUS,
IRENE.

HADRIAN,

DESIDERIUS,
King of the
Lombards.

Ninety-fourth BISHOP of Rome.

STEPHEN was succeeded by *Hadrian* or *Adrian*, chosen and ^{Hadrian cho-} ordained after a Vacancy of seven Days, and consequently on ^{sen. His} the 9th of *February*, which, in the present Year 772, fell on a Sun- ^{Birth, Edu-} day, the Day, on which Bishops, especially the Popes, were commonly ^{cation, &c.} ordained. *Hadrian* was a Native of *Rome*, descended from one of the most illustrious Families of that City; and he is highly com-
mended by *Anastasius* for his extraordinary Piety, uncommon Learn-
ing, engaging Behaviour, excellent Parts, and even for the Majesty
of his Mien, and the Comeliness of his Person. He had passed, with
great Reputation, through all the inferior Degrees, and was Cardinal
Deacon of the holy *Roman* Church, when the People and Clergy
raised him with one Voice to the See^b. On the very Day of his
Election, *Anastasius* says, the very Hour he was elected, he recalled
all, whom *Paul Astarta* had sent into Exile, during the Illness of the
late Pope; and set at Liberty such as were kept by him confined in
the different Jails, that is, all the leading Men of the *French* Party
in *Rome*: So forward was he in declaring his Resolution of culti-
vating the Friendship of the *French* Princes and Nation.

And truly he soon had Occasion for the Favour and Assistance of ^{Charle-} such powerful Protectors. For scarce had he taken Possession of the ^{magne di-} See, when a Misunderstanding arose between him and the King of ^{vorces the} the *Lombards*, which, had not the *French* interposed in his Behalf, ^{Daughter of} would, in all Likelihood, have proved as fatal to him and the ^{the King of} *Ro-* ^{the Lom-} *man* People as it proved in the End to that unhappy Nation. It
arose on the following Occasion. Queen *Bertrad* had persuaded her
Son *Charlemagne*, as has been related above, to marry the Daughter

^a Anast. in Steph. 3.

^b Idem in Adrian.

Year of
Christ 772.

of the King of the *Lombards*, as the most effectual Means of taking off that Prince from his Connexion with *Carloman*, and engaging him in the Interest of *Charlemagne*. But *Carloman* dying soon after that Marriage, and *Charlemagne*, who disliked his new Wife, thinking, as he became by the Death of his Brother sole Master of the whole *French* Monarchy, that he had no further Occasion for an Alliance with the King of the *Lombards*, divorced his Daughter, and marrying *Hildegard*, a Princess of *Suevia*, in her room, sent her back to her Father (I). *Desiderius*, highly provoked at the Treatment his Daughter had met with, resolved to revenge it. He had then at his Court *Gilberg*, the Widow of *Carloman*, and his two Sons, both yet Infants. For *Gilberg*, apprehending that *Charlemagne*, prompted by his Ambition, might either destroy both her and them, if he got them into his Power, or at least cause them to be shut up in a Monastery, had abandoned the Kingdom upon the Death of her Husband, and taken Refuge with her Children in the Court of *Desiderius*. The King had received them with open Arms, and entertained them, as well as the many *French* Lords, who had attended them in their Flight, in a Manner suitable to their respective Ranks, merely, as he pretended and declared at that Time, out of the Regard he owed to the Memory of his deceased Friend and Ally. But on the present Occasion he resolved openly to espouse their Cause, to acknowledge them for the lawful Heirs of their Father's Kingdom, which *Charlemagne* had seized upon their Flight, and to attempt, by stirring up their Friends in *France*, to form there a Party in their Favour and kindle a Civil War in the Bowels of that Kingdom. This he thought he should easily accomplish provided he could prevail on the new Pope to engage in the same Cause, and persuade him not only to take the Children of *Carloman* into his Protection, but to anoint them Kings of their Father's Kingdom. With that View he sent, as soon as he heard of the Election of *Hadrian*, a solemn Embassy to *Rome* to congratulate him on his Promotion, to assure him of his Friendship, and at the same Time to recommend to him, as the Father of the Distressed, the distressed Widow and destitute Children of *Carloman*. The Embassadors omitted nothing

who strives
to engage the
Pope on his
Side to re-
venge that
Affront.

(I) From his not recalling, on this Occasion, his first Wife *Himiltrude*, Authors generally conclude that she was dead; as if *Charlemagne*, who had not scrupled to marry a second Wife while his first Wife was living, would have scrupled to marry a third.

they

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

41

they thought capable of making an Impression on the Mind of the Pope, and awakening his Compassion for the Children of a Prince, to whom his See owed, in great measure, its Grandeur. They represented to him, in the strongest Light, the crying Injustice of *Charlemagne* in robbing his own Brother's Children of a Kingdom, to which they had as unquestionable a Right as he, or his Children, had to his; exaggerated the deplorable Condition, to which his insatiable Avarice, and unbounded Ambition had reduced them; put his Holiness in mind of the extraordinary Regard their Father *Carloman* had always shown and professed for the Apostolic See, and assuring him that whatever Assistance he should lend to them the King of the *Lombards* would look upon it as lent to himself, they entreated him, in the most pathetic Terms, to pity their unhappy Situation, and generously undertake, in Conjunction with their Master, who had nothing in his View but the Relief of the distressed, their Defence and Protection^c.

Year of
Christ 772.

Hadrian was a Man of too much Penetration not to be apprised of the true Designs of the King. He pitied the forlorn Condition of the Children of *Carloman*: But sensible that should he take them into his Protection and anoint them Kings of their Father's Kingdom, he would thereby highly disoblige his Protector *Charlemagne*, and be abandoned by him to the Mercy of the *Lombards*, he made his Compassion give way to his Interest, and not only declined entering, at so critical a Juncture, into any Engagements with the King, but to earn the Favour of *Charlemagne* privately acquainted him with the Designs, that the King, the Widow of *Carloman*, and the *French* Lords, who had attended her in her Flight, were hatching against him in Favour of his Nephews. However to gain time, as *Charlemagne* was then engaged in a War with the *Saxons*, the Pope pretended to hearken to the Proposals of the Embassadors, told them that he had nothing so much at Heart as to live in Friendship and Amity with his Neighbours the *Lombards*; that he was ready to do every thing they could in Reason and Justice require of him; but that as their Master had, in the Pontificate of his Predecessor, seized on several Places in Defiance of the most solemn Treaties, they could not well blame him for insisting, first of all, on the Restitution of the said Places, as a Pledge of his pacific Disposition and the Sincerity of his Intentions; that as soon as they were restored, he would send,

The Pope adheres to Charlemagne, and even acquaints him with the Designs of the Lombards.

His Answer to the King's Embassadors.

^c Idem. ibid.

Year of
Christ 772.

if agreeable to the King, Legates to *Pavia* vested with full Powers to conclude, upon his own Terms, a Treaty of Friendship and Peace between the *Lombards* and the *Romans* ^d.

The King of
the Lombards
invades the
Exarchate.

Desiderius, finding that the new Pope was not to be gained, as his Predecessor had been, with fair Words, Protestations and Promises, resolved, as he had no Thoughts of parting with the Places he had taken, to recur to Violence and Force. He entered accordingly the Territory of *Ravenna*, made himself Master of several Places there, laid the Country every-where waste, and suffering no kind of Provisions to be conveyed into the City, reduced the Citizens to the utmost Extremity. In that Condition they applied for Relief to the Pope, who immediately wrote to the King to put him in mind of the Promise he had very lately made to live in Friendship and Peace with the Apostolic Sec, and entreat him, as he tendered his Reputation and Character, to forbear Hostilities so repugnant to his Protestations and Promises, so unjust in themselves, and so unworthy of a Christian Prince. The King answered, that he was ready to withdraw his

Promises to
forbear Ho-
stilities upon
the Pope's
anointing the
Sons of Car-
loman Kings
of their Fa-
ther's King-
dom.

Troops, to forbear Hostilities, and to live in Peace with the Pope and the *Romans* upon one Condition, and one Condition alone, *viz.* that he acknowledged and anointed, in his Presence, the two Sons of *Carloman* Kings of their Father's Kingdom. He added, that those unhappy Children had an indisputable Right to the Dominions of their Father, as his Holiness well knew, and that his refusing to acknowledge that Right, by anointing them Kings, was in effect countenancing, and declaring to the World that he countenanced the Usurper in his unjust Usurpation. The Pope, determined to do nothing he thought could give the least Umbrage to *Charlemagne*, still kept to his former Answer, assuring the King that he was ready to do every Thing that lay in his Power to oblige him, but insisting, at the same Time, on his restoring the Places he had taken before he would enter into any new Engagements with him or his Nation ^e.

The King re-
doubles his
Hostilities
upon the
Pope's refus-
ing to comply
with his De-
mand.

The King was highly provoked at this Answer, but still more at the Death of his zealous Partizan *Paul Astarta*, that happened at this Time. *Paul* to be revenged on the Pope, who had driven him out of *Rome*, had undertaken to return to that City; to reanimate the *Lombard* Faction, that was there still very powerful, and even to seize the Pope himself, and deliver him up in Chains to the *Lombards*. But *Hadrian*, receiving timely Intelligence of his Design, and

^d Anast. in Hadrian.

^e Idem ibid. Eginhard. in vit. Carol.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

43

the Rout he was to take, sent a private Order to *Leo*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, to arrest and confine him. The Archbishop was not satisfied with executing that Order; but having got the unhappy Wretch into his Power, he caused him after a short Confinement to be put to Death, contrary, says *Anastasius*, to the declared Intention and express Command of the Pope. The King, upon the News of his Death, redoubled his Hostilities, his Parties advancing to the very Gates of *Rome*, and putting to the Sword or carrying into Captivity all, who fell into their Hands. But nothing could make *Hadrian* depart from the Resolution he had taken of entering into no Engagements with the *Lombards*, that might give the least Jealousy or Occasion of Complaint to the *French*. He was greatly affected with the Calamities of the unhappy People exposed to the Insults and the Fury of the merciless *Lombards*; but at the same Time determined to take no Step for their Relief, that appeared to him inconsistent with his Interest, when the King offered to withdraw his Troops and put an End to all Hostilities the very Moment he gave the royal Unc tion to the Sons of *Carloman*, he returned Answer, that the King was by former Treaties and repeated Promises bound to forbear Hostilities; that he had, by an open Breach of those Treaties and in Defiance of the most solemn Promises, seized on several Places belonging to the Apostolic See, and could not therefore well require the holy See to trust to his Present till he had fully executed his former Promises by withdrawing his Troops, and restoring all the Places he had taken.

The Pope was sensible that this Answer, instead of appeasing the King, would provoke him beyond all measure; and therefore apprehending, that not satisfied with ravaging the Country, he might lay Siege to the City itself, he dispatched, in great Haste, a Messenger into *France* with a Letter to *Charlemagne* to acquaint him with the deplorable Condition to which he and the *Roman* People were reduced by the *Lombards*, and putting him in mind of the Vow he had made in his Father's Life-time never to abandon the Protection of the Successors of *St. Peter*, and the Defence of his Church, earnestly entreats him in the Name of *St. Peter* and his to hasten to their Relief pursuant to that Vow. He added, that to delay relieving him, let the Delay be ever so short, at so critical a Juncture, was abandoning him to the Mercy of his implacable Enemies; and took care to let *Charlemagne* know, that it was chiefly, if not merely, on account of his inviolable Attachment to his Interest, and because he could not

Year of
Christ 772.

The Pope re-
curs to Char-
lemagne.

Year of
Christ 772.

be prevailed upon to anoint the Sons of *Carloman* Kings of their Father's Kingdom, and thereby concur with his Enemies in the Design they had formed of kindling a Civil War in the Bowels of his Kingdom, that he was thus cruelly persecuted by the *Lombards*. As the Passes in the *Alps* were all carefully guarded by the *Lombards*, the Messenger went by Sea, and being informed, upon his Arrival at *Marseilles*, that *Charlemagne* was at *Thionville*, he repaired thither, and delivered, pursuant to his Instructions, the Pope's Letter into his own Hands.

Charle-
magne's An-
swer to the
Pope's Letter.

Charlemagne being fully informed by the Messenger of the State of Affairs in *Italy*, and the Designs of the *Lombards*, remanded him, the very Day after his Arrival, with an Answer to the Pope's Letter, assuring his Holiness that he remembered, and should ever inviolably observe the Vow he had made; that he was resolved, as bound by that Vow, to march, with all Speed, to his Relief, to employ, if necessary, the whole Strength of his Kingdom in curbing the Insolence of the *Lombards*, and that he would hearken to no Treaties, since no Treaties could bind them, but strive to put them out of a Condition of disturbing hereafter him or his Successors in the Possession of the Places which his Father and he had, for the Redemption of their Souls, given to St. *Peter*. *Charlemagne* considered that the *Lombards* never would suffer the Pope quietly to enjoy the Territories, which they had taken from the Emperor, and claimed as their own by Right of Conquest; that whatever Treaties they pretended to agree to, they would observe them no longer than they found it expedient, but would lay hold of every Opportunity that offered to raise Disturbances in *Italy*, and in his own Dominions too as soon as they found him engaged in other Wars; that as they had taken into their Protection the two Sons of *Carloman*, who had no contemptible Party in *France*, such Disturbances might end, when he expected it the least, in a Civil War. Upon these Considerations he resolved not only to relieve the Pope in his present Distress, but encouraged by his late extraordinary Success against the *Saxons*, to attempt the Conquest of *Italy*, as the only effectual Means of delivering the Apostolic See and himself from so troublesome and faithless an Enemy. Pursuant to that Resolution he put, without Delay, all his Forces in Motion; appointed the City of *Geneva* for the Place of the general Rendezvous, and repairing thither in Person divided, after several Councils of War, his numerous Army into two Bodies.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

45

Bodies. The one, commanded by Duke *Bernard*, Brother of the late King *Pepin*, and natural Son of *Charles Martel*, he ordered to enter *Italy* by Mount *St. Bernard*; with the other he marched himself towards Mount *Cenis*^f.

Year of
Christ 772.

He sets out
with a nu-
merous Army

In the mean time the King of the *Lombards*, despairing of being able to persuade the Pope to anoint the Sons of *Carloman*, resolved to surprise him, and extort by Force, when he had him in his Power, what he could not obtain by Art or Persuasion. With that View he ordered several Bodies of Troops secretly to march, by different

for Italy.
The King of
the Lombards

attempts to
surprise
Rome.

Ways, towards *Rome*; and privately leaving *Pavia* himself with his Son *Adalgisus*, the two Sons of *Carloman*, and the Queen their

Year of
Christ 773.

Mother, he appeared unexpectedly at the Head of a powerful Army in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. The News of his Approach threw the whole City into the utmost Confusion. *Hadrian* however, not forgetting, in the midst of that Confusion, to provide for his Defence, summoned the Militia of *Campania*, *Tuscany*, and the Dukedom of *Perugia* into the City, caused the Gates and the Walls to be carefully guarded Night and Day, and by assuring the People that *Charlemagne* was hastening, with a mighty Army, to their Relief, inspired them with such Courage, that even those, who at first had betrayed the most Cowardice and Fear, were now the foremost in flying to Arms, and preparing for a vigorous Defence. The King, as he

approached *Rome*, sent some of his Officers to acquaint the Pope with his Arrival, and to beg his Holiness would grant him an Interview, which, he said, he was confident would end to the entire Satisfaction of both. To this Message *Hadrian* returned the same Answer he had given to all the other Proposals and Messages from the King; that he would hearken to no Proposals whatever till all the Places he had seized, belonging to *St. Peter* and his Church, were restored; that the Restitution of those Places was a Preliminary, which he was unalterably determined never to dispense with. The King, finding the Pope thus determined, pursued his March towards *Rome*, plundering the Cities, and laying the Countries every-where waste through which he passed. Hereupon the Pope, resolved to try the Edge of his spiritual Weapons before he employed any other, drew up a Sentence of Excommunication in the strongest Terms, threatening the King and all, who followed him, with immediate Vengeance from Heaven, if he presumed to advance one Step nearer to *Rome*, or ravaged the Lands.

Finding the
City well
guarded, he
begs an In-
terview with
the Pope.
The Pope's
Answer to
the King's
Demand.

^f Anast. Eginhard ibid.

Year of
Christ 773.

The King
awed with
the Threats
of the Pope
returns to his
own King-
dom.

Charle-
magne ad-
vances with
his Army to
the Alps.

Finding the
Passes well
guarded pro-
poses an Ac-
commodation.

of the Church. With this Sentence *Hadrian* dispatched the three Bishops of *Albano*, *Palestrina* and *Tivoli*; and it struck the King with such Terror, that, putting a Stop to all further Hostilities, he set out that Instant on his Return to *Pavia*. So great was the Awe even Kings and Princes stood in of the Anathemas of the Popes till Experience taught them, that their cursing did no more Harm to Mankind than their blessing did Good.

In the mean time *Charlemagne*, advancing with his Army to the *Alps*, found all the Passes and Defiles so well fortified; and guarded by such numerous Bodies of *Lombards*, commanded by the King in Person and his Son *Adalgisus*, that most of the Officers thought they could not be forced; that it would cost the Loss of the whole Army to attempt it, and were therefore of Opinion, in a Council of War that was held, that they should either return to *France*, without exposing so many gallant Men to certain Destruction, or try whether the *Lombards* might not be brought by way of Negotiation to satisfy the Pope. *Charlemagne* chose the latter, none in the whole Army being more sensible of the Difficulty of the Enterprize than himself; and he sent accordingly, as soon as the Council broke up, Embassadors to represent to the King the Justice of the Pope's Complaints and Demands, the Obligation the Kings of *France* were under of making good the Donation of *Pepin*, the dreadful Consequences that would inevitably attend the War, that was upon the Point of being kindled in *Italy*, and the many Advantages, that would accrue to the *Lombard* Nation from their Friendship with *France*: Nay *Charlemagne* was so apprehensive of the Issue of the present Undertaking, that he even offered to defray the Charges the *Lombards* had been at in their military Preparations on this Occasion, provided they delivered up to the Pope, in compliance with the Treaty of *Pavia*, all the Places yielded by that Treaty to the Apostolic See. What is still more, he did not insist on the immediate Restitution of those Places, but let the King know, that he was willing to allow him what Time he could reasonably require for the Execution of the Treaty; on Condition that he delivered three Hostages into his Hands, the Sons of some of the chief Lords of his Court, as Pledges of his Sincerity: He added, that as soon as they arrived in his Camp, he should forget all former Breaches of so solemn a Treaty, should look upon the *Lombards* as his Friends and Allies, and forbearing all further Hostilities, march back with his Army to *France*.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

47

But the more advantageous were the Offers of *Charlemagne* the more averse was the King of the *Lombards* to accept them, concluding that they proceeded from Fear, and that *Charlemagne*, aware of the Difficulty of his Undertaking and despairing of Success, would rather chuse to retire, if his Proposals were not agreed to, and abandon the Pope to the Mercy of the *Lombards*, than expose his Army to the evident Danger of being entirely cut off to relieve him. Indeed the *French* Generals after reconnoitring the Situation of the Enemy, and carefully examining the many strong Works they had raised in the Passes of the Mountains, delivered it as their Opinion, that it was impossible to dislodge them, and therefore not only advised but jointly entreated their King not to attempt it, but reserve his Army, the Strength and the Flower of the *French* Nation, for other less hazardous but more glorious Atchievements. *Charlemagne* yielded; and it was resolved in a Council of War, that they should abandon the Enterprize for the present and decamp the next Day. But Heaven interposed, says *Baronius*, and confounding the Enemies of the holy Pontiff, opened a safe and free Passage to his Friends. For that very Night the advanced Guards of the *Lombards*, seized unexpectedly with a Panic, retreated in the utmost Confusion to the main Guard, and the main Guard, alarmed at their Fright and Confusion, fled, in the like Fright and Confusion, to the Army. The Terror in an Instant became general; and, as it commonly happens in such Cases, all fled, leaving their Tents and their Baggage behind them, tho' nobody could tell why. The King, the Prince and the other Officers did all that lay in their Power to reanimate the affrighted Soldiery, and stop them in their Flight; but they were themselves carried away by the flying Multitude. Hereupon the King threw himself, with the Flower of his Troops, into *Pavia*, and his Son *Adalgisus* with the two Sons of *Carloman*, the Queen their Mother, and a *French* Lord named *Ancair*, into *Verona*. Had *Charlemagne* out of a Principle of Justice, made War on the *Lombards* to reinstate the Emperor in those Dominions, who alone had a Right, and an unquestionable Right to them, I should not quarrel with *Baronius* for ascribing the Panic and sudden Flight of the *Lombards* to the miraculous Interposition of Heaven. But as the Pope had no better Right to those Territories than the *Lombards*, that is, no Right at all; nay as they belonged in Justice to his liege Lord and Sovereign, and he could not consequently claim them without being guilty of

Year of Christ 773.
His Proposals rejected.
He resolves to decamp and return to France.
The Lombards seized with a Panic, betake themselves to a disorderly Flight.
Their Flight ascribed by Baronius to the Interposition of Heaven.
Treason.

Year of
Christ 773.

Treason and Rebellion, to suppose that Heaven miraculously interposed in his Favour is supposing Heaven to have miraculously interposed in Favour of a Traitor and a Rebel, and thereby countenanced Rebellion and Treason.

Pavia be-
sieged by
Charle-
magne.

Charlemagne, seeing the next Morning, to his great Surprise, the Passes all open and unguarded, entered them at first, not without Fear of some Ambuscade; but finding that the *Lombards* were all retired, he detached several Parties after them, and advancing himself with the main Body of the Army to *Pavia*, invested it on all Sides, and began to batter the Walls with incredible Fury. But as the Town abounded with all manner of Provisions, was well fortified, and defended by the King in Person, by a numerous Garison, and a great many Officers, among whom was *Hunald*, Duke of *Aquitaine* (K), the *French*, notwithstanding all their Efforts, made but very little Progress in the Siege. *Charlemagne* therefore, changing the Siege into a Blockade, marched with Part of his Army to attempt the Reduction of *Verona*; and he no sooner appeared before that

The Widow
of Carloman
delivers her-
self and her
Children up
to Charle-
magne.

Place, than the Widow of *Carloman*, sensible she could not avoid falling at last into his Hands, begged Leave of *Adalgisus* to go out with her Children, and deliver herself up to him, flattering herself, that the Confidence, she thereby seemed to repose in him, would recommend both her and her Children to his Mercy. Her Request was readily granted; and she, repairing accordingly to the Camp, threw herself, with her Children, at the Feet of her Brother-in-law. But what Reception she met with; what afterwards became of her and her Children, History has not informed us. Had they been kindly received; had *Charlemagne* shown, on this Occasion, the least Generosity, I cannot persuade myself that the contemporary Writers, who have omitted nothing, that could any-ways redound to his Glory, would have all passed it over in Silence. As no mention is thenceforth made of that unhappy Princess and her unfortunate Children, it would not perhaps be absurd to suppose, that they were soon removed, by some means or other, out of the way.

(K) *Hunald*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, had attempted to recover his Dukedom, which *Charlemagne* had seized; but, being utterly defeated in the Attempt, he took Refuge in the Court of *Lupus* Duke of *Gascony*, who chose rather to deliver him up than engage in a War with the Conqueror.

Charlemagne carried him Prisoner with him into *France*. But he found means to make his Escape, and get safe into *Italy*, where he is said to have encouraged the King of the *Lombards* to reject all the Proposals of Peace, that were made him.

The

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

49

The Siege of *Verona* kept *Charlemagne* employed from the Middle of *June* to the Beginning of *October*, when *Adalgisus*, finding himself reduced, for want of Provisions, to the last Extremity, and despairing of Relief, privately withdrew from the Place in the Dead of the Night, and wandering a long Time about the Country in Disguise, found means, at last, to make his Escape by Sea to *Constantinople*, where he was kindly received and entertained, suitably to his Rank, by the Emperor *Constantine*. Upon his Flight the Garison and Inhabitants of *Verona*, opening their Gates, submitted to *Charlemagne*, and their Example was followed by all the Cities on the same Side the *Po*; nay several Cities on the other Side, and nearer to *Rome*, viz. *Ancona*, *Fermo*, *Spoleti*, *Rieti*, *Foligno*, looking upon the Kingdom of the *Lombards* as already at an End, submitted themselves, by their Deputies, to the Apostolic See, and swearing Allegiance to *St. Peter* and his Successors, caused their Hair to be cut short, after the *Roman* Manner, to show that they renounced the *Lombards*, who wore long Hair, and their Modes.

Year of
Christ 773.

Adalgisus
makes his
Escape.

Verona and
many other
Cities submit
to Charle-
magne.

From *Verona* *Charlemagne* returned to *Pavia*, and sitting down, with his whole Army, before that City, pursued the Siege with more Vigour than ever. But as the Place was defended by a warlike Prince fighting for his Crown, and the Liberty of his Nation as well as his own, the *French* were repulsed, with great Slaughter, in all their Attacks; insomuch that the Town was in as good a State of Defence at *Christmas*, and the Citizens and Garison as little inclined to submit and deliver it up, as they were the first Day of the Siege. *Charlemagne*, finding the Town would hold out much longer than he expected, sent for his Wife and his Children, and continued in the Camp, entertaining himself with them, and pursuing the Siege with great Loss of Men, and little Success, till the Approach of Easter. That Festival *Charlemagne* resolved to keep at *Rome*; and committing accordingly the Care of the Siege to his Uncle Count *Bernard*, he set out in the latter End of *March* for that City, attended by a great many Bishops, Abbots, and other Ecclesiastics, who had accompanied him into *Italy*, as well as Officers and Persons of Distinction. As he had not acquainted the Pope with his Design, having perhaps taken it suddenly being tired with the Length of the Siege, he was far advanced in his Journey before *Hadrian* heard of his coming. But no sooner did he hear of it, and of the Rout he had taken, than thinking it his Duty to distinguish so great a Prince, a Prince to whom

The French
repulsed with
great Slaught-
er before
Pavia.

Charle-
magne goes
to Rome.

Year of
Christ 774.

Year of
Christ 774.

How receiv-
ed there by the
Romans,

and the
Pope.

Charle-
magne visits
the holy
Places at
Rome.

his Sec was so highly indebted, above all the Princes and Kings, who had ever yet honoured *Rome* with their Presence, he sent all the Magistrates and Judges of the City with their Banners, and the Badges of their respective Offices to meet him at thirty Miles Distance, and attend him the remaining Part of the Journey. At a Mile from the Gate he was received by all the Militia of *Rome* under Arms, and a Procession of Children, carrying Branches of Olive-trees in their Hands, and singing his Praises. After them appeared at some Distance the Crosses, that were carried, according to Custom, before the Exarchs, and the *Roman* Patricians in their public Entries. *Charlemagne* alighted, as soon as he saw the Crosses, from his Horse with all his Retinue, and, attended by his own Nobility and the *Roman*, went on Foot, amidst the loud Acclamations of the People crowding from all Parts to see him, the rest of the Way to the *Vatican*. As for the Pope, he repaired to that Church early in the Morning, with the whole Body of the Clergy, to wait there the Arrival of the King, and conduct him in Person to the Tomb of *St. Peter*. *Charlemagne*, being arrived at the Foot of the Steps leading up to the Church, kneeled down and kissed the first Step; and thus he continued kneeling down and kissing each Step as he ascended. At the Entry of the Church he was received by the Pontiff in all the gorgeous Attire of his pontifical Ornaments. They embraced each other with great Tenderneſs; and the King holding the Pope's Right Hand with his Left, they thus entered the Church, the People and Clergy singing aloud the Words of the Gospel, *Blessed is he, that cometh in the Name of the Lord*. The Pope conducted the King strait to the Confession, that is, to the supposed Tomb of *St. Peter*; and there, prostrating themselves both on the Ground, they returned Thanks to the Prince of the Apostles for the great Advantages the King had, by his Intercession, already obtained over his Enemies and the Enemies of the Church, that is, the *Lombards*, who, in Truth, were as good Catholics, and wished as well to the Catholic Church as the *French*, but would not tamely suffer themselves to be robbed by the Pope of the Countries they had acquired at the Expence of the Blood and the Treasure of their Nation, and to which, on that Consideration, they thought they had a much better Title than he or his Church.

Charlemagne, having thus satisfied his Devotion to *St. Peter*, expressed an earnest Desire to the Pope of visiting the holy Places within the Walls; and they entered accordingly the City together, after the

Pope

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

51

Year of
Christ 774.

Pope with the *Roman* Nobility and the Magistrates on the one Side, and the King with the *French* Nobility on the other, had solemnly sworn, on the Body of *St. Peter*, perpetual Friendship to each other. They first repaired to the *Lateran*, where, as it was the Eve of Easter, one of the Days appointed by the Church for the baptizing of Catechumens, the Pope performed that Ceremony, with great Pomp, in the Presence of the King. The next Day, being the Festival of Easter, the King, attended by the Militia under Arms and all the *Roman* Nobility, assisted at Divine Service performed by the Pope in the Church of *St. Mary ad Præsepe*, now *Santa Maria Maggiore*, and after the Service dined with his Holiness in the *Lateran* Palace. The two following Days were spent, after the same manner, in different Churches; and the third the Pope and the King had a Conference in the *Vatican*, when *Hadrian*, coming to the main Point, put the King in mind of the Promise, which King *Pepin* his Father and he himself had made at *Chierfi* to his holy Predecessor Pope *Stephen*,^{Confirms the Donation of his Father} extolled the Generosity of his Predecessors and his own to the Apostolic See, the Merit they had thereby acquired, and the Reward^{Pepin.} that was, on that Account, reserved for them in Heaven, and earnestly entreated him, as he tendered his Happiness in this World and the other, to confirm his former Promise or Donation, to cause all the Places mentioned therein to be delivered up, without further delay, to *St. Peter*, and to secure for ever the Possession of them to that Apostle, and his Church. *Charlemagne* readily complied with the Desire of the Pope; and having caused the former Instrument of Donation to be read, he ordered *Etherius*, his Chaplain and Notary, to draw up another. This new Instrument he signed himself, and requiring all the Bishops, Abbots, and other great Men, who had attended him to *Rome*, to sign it, with his own Hand he laid it thus signed, kissing it with great Respect and Devotion, on the Body of *St. Peter*^{h.}

What Countries this new Donation comprised is not agreed among^{What Coun-tries that Donation con- tained.} Authors. *Anastasius* writes, that *Charlemagne*, not satisfied with the Donation of the *Pentapolis* and the Exarchate made by his Fa-ther; added the Island of *Corfica*, and the large Country, which, extending from *Luna* to *Sorano* and *Monte Bordone*, comprehends the Cities and Territories of *Vercetri*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Mantua*,

^g See vol. 3. p. 353.
Leo Ostien. l. 1. c. 12.

^h Anast. in Adrian. Eginbard. in vit. Carol. Mag.

Year of
Christ 774.

and *Menselice*; nay, the present Donation extended besides, according to that Writer, to the Provinces of *Istria* and *Venetia*, and the two Dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoletii*. In the very ancient manuscript Chronicle of the Monastery of St. *Clement* at *Naples*, *Charlemagne* is said to have added those two Dukedoms to the Donation of his Father. *Sigonius* will have the Donation of *Charlemagne* to have comprised, besides those Dukedoms and the Countries given by *Pepin*, the *Sabinian* Territory with great Part of *Tuscany* and *Campania*. *De Marca* adds all *Campania* with the City of *Naples* and the Provinces of *Abruzzo* and *Apulia*^k. Others add *Saxony*, which he had lately conquered, and other Countries too, which he never conquered, viz. *Sardinia* and *Sicily*; for these two Islands were held by the Emperors of the East till torn from the Empire by the *Saracens*. On the other Hand some are of Opinion that *Charlemagne* only confirmed the Donation of his Father, comprehending the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis*. In short, as no authentic Copy of this new Instrument of Donation is any-where to be found, some will not allow him to have given any thing to the Pope on this Occasion, but to have only renewed and confirmed the Donation of his Father; while others pretend, that he kept nothing to himself, but gave all he had to the Pope, and more than he had. *Charlemagne* indeed caused the Patrimonies of the *Roman* Church in *Campania*, *Sabinia*, *Tuscany*, *Istria*, &c. which had been confiscated by the *Lombards*, to be restored to that Church; and hence probably arose the Mistake of the Writers, who will have him to have given those Provinces to the Pope: They confounded the Patrimonies of the Church in the above-mentioned Countries with the Countries themselves^l. However that *Charlemagne* added something to the Dona-

The Dukedom
of Spoleti
added to the
former Do-
nation.

tion of King *Pepin* his Father, namely the Dukedom of *Spoleti*, is manifest from the Letters of *Hadrian* to that Prince: For in several of those Letters, written after the present Year 774, express mention is made of the Dukedom of *Spoleti*, which had never, till that Time, been subject to the Apostolic See, as then subject to that See^m. As the Pope, in his Letters, mentions no other Place, that was not comprehended in the former Donation, we may well conclude, that no other was added to the present.

^l Anast. in Adrian.

^k Marc. de concord. Sacerdot. & imper. l. 3. c. 10.

^m See Pietro Giannone Istor. Civil. di Napol. l. 5. c. 4.

ⁿ Lib. Carol.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

53

From *Rome* *Charlemagne* returned to the Camp before *Pavia*, ^{Year of} where he found his Men quite disheartened, and ready to despair of ^{Christ 774.} ever being able to reduce the Place. His Presence inspired them ^{Charle-} with new Courage: The Attacks were doubled, and the Walls fur- ^{magne re-} ously battered Night and Day without Intermission. But in all the ^{turns to the} Attacks the *Lombards* prevailed, and the Breaches were no sooner ^{Siege of Pa-} made than repaired. Thus the Besiegers and the Besieged continued signalizing themselves till an epidemical Distemper began to rage with great Violence in the City. As by that Distemper great Numbers were daily swept off both of the Garison and the Inhabitants, those, who survived, began to mutiny, and cry out that it was time to surrender. The Duke of *Aquitaine*, dreading to fall into the Hands of *Charlemagne*, took upon him to restrain the Mutineers; but he was killed by the enraged Multitude on the Spot. The unhappy *Desiderius*, finding himself thus abandoned by his own People, was obliged in the End to surrender the Place, and deliver up him- ^{The King} self, with his Wife and his Daughter, to *Charlemagne*, upon Condi- ^{after a most} tion, for the Conqueror would hearken to no other, that their Lives ^{vigorous De-} were spared. *Charlemagne* took them with him into *France*, and ^{sence is ob-} confined them, according to some Writersⁿ, first to *Liege* and after- ^{liged to sub-} wards to the Monastery of *Corbie*, where *Desiderius* is said to have ^{mit.} spent the rest of his Life in fasting, in praying, and in other good Works^o. Thus ended the Reign of the *Lombard* Princes in *Italy* ^{The End of} 206 Years after they had made themselves Masters of that Country. ^{Lombard} I say the Reign of the *Lombard* Princes; for, properly speaking ^{Kings.} that Kingdom did not end now, *Charlemagne* having assumed, upon the surrender of *Pavia* and the Captivity of *Desiderius*, the Title of King of the *Lombards*, and left the People in the same Condition he found them; so that the Monarch was changed, but no Alteration was made in the Monarchy (L).

Charlemagne's

• Annal. Nazar. & Meten.

• Hepidan. ad ann. 774.

(L) As *Charlemagne* claimed the Kingdom of the *Lombards* by Right of Conquest, he caused himself, soon after the Reduction of *Pavia*, to be crowned King of *Lombardy* by the Archbishop of *Milan* at a Place called *Modestia* about ten Miles from that City. Of that Ceremony we find the following Account in the *Ordo Romanus* a very ancient Ritual. The new

King was led out of his Chamber by several Bishops to the Church; and being conducted to the high Altar, the Archbishop, after some solemn Prayers, asked the People, whether they were willing to subject themselves to *Charles*, and with constant Fidelity obey his Commands? The People answering they were willing, the Bishop anointed his Head, Breast, Shoulders,

Year of
Christ 774.

The Pope put
in Possession
of the Places
yielded to
him by Pepin.

No Change
made by
Charle-
magne in the
Government.

The Lom-
bards unjustly
ascribed by
the Popes.

Charlemagne's first Care, after the Reduction of *Pavia*, was to put the Pope in Possession of all the Places, that had been yielded to him by his Father or himself, viz. the Exarchate, the *Pentapolis*, and the Dukedom of *Spoleti*, which however continued to be governed by its own Dukes. Thus the Popes had, at last, the Satisfaction, the so long wished for Satisfaction, of seeing the *Lombards* humbled, and no longer able to controll them in their ambitious Views, the Emperor driven almost quite out of *Italy*, and themselves enriched with the Spoils of both. As for the Countries, which Charlemagne kept to himself, viz. the Country now called *Piemont*, *Monferrato*, the *Riviera* of *Genoa*, the *Parmesan*, the *Modenese*, *Tuscany*, the *Milanese*, the *Brescian*, the *Veronese*, and the Dukedoms of *Friuli* and *Benevento*, he made there very little Change in the Government, continuing in most Places the same Governors, and allowing the People to enjoy the same Privileges they had enjoyed under the *Lombard* Princes. He made no Alteration at all in their Laws, but only added to them, as King of the *Lombards*, some of his own. In *Pavia* and in some other strong Towns he left *French* Governors and Garisons, but strictly enjoined them to govern with Moderation and Mildness, that they might be looked upon by the conquered People as Friends rather than Conquerors. Charlemagne, having thus settled the Affairs of *Italy* to the entire Satisfaction of the Pope and his own, repassed the Mountains in the Month of *August* of the present Year, and returned to *France*.

I cannot, in Justice, dismiss this Subject without vindicating the Character of the unhappy *Lombards* against the antichristian and virulent Invectives of the Popes, painting them, in all their Letters, as a lawless, cruel, brutal, barbarous and savage People, as of all the Nations on the Earth the most wicked; the most abandoned to every kind of Vice, as the Dregs of Mankind, and a Disgrace to human Nature. They were indeed, when they first came into *Italy*, a rude and unpolished Race; and so were the *Goths*, the *Franks*, the *Sax-*

Shoulders, and Arms, praying that the new King might be successful in his Wars, and happy in his Issue. He then girt him with a Sword, put Bracelets on his Arms, and gave him a Robe, a Ring, and a Sceptre, and having placed the Crown on his Head, he led him through the Choir to the Throne, and having seated him there,

and given him the Kiss of Peace, he celebrated Divine Service (1). Charlemagne ordained, that the same Ceremony should be observed in the Coronation of his Successors, and performed by the Archbishop of *Milan*, who thenceforth began to contend for Dignity with the Archbishop of *Ravenna*.

(1) Ordo Roman. apud Sigon.

ons, and the other northern Nations, when they first broke into *Spain, France, Britain, &c.* But divesting themselves, by degrees, of their native Rudeness and Barbarity, especially after they had embraced the Christian Religion, they became, in the Course of a few Years, if the contemporary Writers are to be credited, quite another People. No-where was Justice more impartially administered, no-where were the Rights and the Properties of the People more safe, or secured by better Laws, or those Laws more strictly executed than under their Government. Under the Government of the *Lombards*, says *Paulus Diaconus*, no Violence was committed, no Man unjustly dispossessed of his Property, none oppressed with Taxes; Theft, Robberies, Murder, and Adultery were seldom heard of; every one went, without the least Apprehension of Danger, whither he pleased. *Paul* was, it is true, himself a *Lombard*; but *Gunter*^q, the incomparable *Grotius*^r, and, in short, all who have writ of the *Lombards*, except the Popes and their avowed Partisans, speak no less favourably of them than *Paul* himself. And truly their many wholesome Laws (M), restraining and severely punishing all Sorts of Crimes; the magnificent Churches, and rich Monasteries, with which they filled that Part of *Italy*, that was subject to them; the many Bishoprics they founded; the many Towns and Cities they either built, repaired, or embellished; the uncommon Respect and Veneration, that even their most warlike Princes paid to the Pope, when he acted in the Character of a Christian Bishop, or a Prelate of the Christian Church, and finally the many Persons of both Sexes and all Conditions among them, whose Sanctity and eminent Virtues have been acknowledged by the Popes themselves, are convincing Proofs of their Piety, Justice and Wisdom, and at the same Time a full Confutation, as *Grotius* observes, of the many Calumnies, with which the Popes have endeavoured, in their Letters, or rather in their Libels, to blacken them in the Eyes of the World. As the *Lombards* were the only Power in

Year of
Christ 774.

Their true
Character.

^p Paul. Diac. Hist. Long. l. 3. c. 8.
Proleg. ad Hist. Goth.

^q Gunt. in Ligurino.

^r Grot. in

(M) Their Laws were found so just, so clear, so comprehensive, that they were retained and observed in *Italy* some Ages after the Reign of their Princes was at an End. *Grotius* equals, and in many Particulars prefers them to the Laws of the *Romans* themselves (1); and *Gunter*, a famous

Poet in those Days, sung thus of the *Lombards* in his *Ligurinum*:

*Gens astuta, sagax, prudens, industria,
solers,
Provida consilio, legum jurisque perita.*

(1) Grot. in Proleg. ad Hist. Goth.

Italy

Year of
Christ 774.

Italy capable of controlling the ambitious Views of the Popes, and determined, as they apprehended, to controll them, they dreaded nothing so much as their ever becoming Masters of that Country; and therefore, without any Regard to Conscience or Truth, they made it their Business, as it was their Interest, to prejudice and stir up first the Emperors, and afterwards the *French* Nation against them, by representing them to both as the most wicked of People: And thus, in the End, they accomplished their Ruin, and made themselves, at their Expence, no inconsiderable Princes (N).

The Bishop of
Ravenna
claims the
Exarchate
and seizes it.

The Pope had by *Charlemagne* been put in Possession, as has been related above, of the Exarchate, the *Pentapolis*, and the Dukedom of *Spoleti*: And he now flattered himself, that he should enjoy undisturbed his new Principality, and besides find some Leisure to attend

(N) For the better understanding of what will be said in the Sequel I shall give here a succinct Account of the State of *Italy* after *Charlemagne* had, by the Reduction of *Pavia* and the Captivity of *Desiderius*, put an End to the Reign of the *Lombard* Kings. *Italy* was possessed, at that Time, by four different Potentates, the *Venetians*, the *French*, the Popes, and the Emperors. The *Venetians*, by their Trade to the *Levant*, were become very considerable, and as they had a great Number of Vessels, they bore no small Sway in the Affairs of *Italy*. The *French* were Masters of the several Provinces mentioned above (1), and besides, of the two great Dukedoms of *Friuli* and *Benevento*, the former comprehending all the *Friuli* with the greater Part of *Istria*, and the latter above two Thirds of the present Kingdom of *Naples*. Those two Dukes *Charlemagne* continued in their respective Dukedoms; nay and allowed them the same Power and Authority, which they had enjoyed under the *Lombard* Kings, only requiring them to take annually the same Oath of Allegiance to him they had annually taken to the Kings of their own Nation. The Pope possessed the Exarchate, the *Pentapolis* (2), and the Dukedom of *Spoleti* with the City and Dukedom of *Rome*; but under him the Dukes of *Spoleti* retained the same Power, that the other Dukes retained under *Charlemagne*. The Emperors still held the Dukedom of *Naples*, with the Cities

of *Gallipoli*, *Otranto*, and *Taranto* in the *Hiher Calabria*, and in the *Farther Calabria* the Cities of *Reggio*, *Gerace*, *Santa Severina*, *Crotone*, *Amantea*, *Agripoli* and *Amalfi*. The Dukedom of *Naples* comprised, besides that City and its Territory, the Cities of *Pozzuolo*, *Baia*, *Miseno*, *Castellamare*, *Sorrento*, and all the adjacent Islands. The Dukedom of *Naples* was governed by a Duke sent from *Constantinople*; but all the other Cities, that the Emperors still retained in *Italy*, were under the Governor, or as he is styled, the Patrician of *Sicily*. In more ancient Times, only the *Farther Calabria* was subject to the Patrician of *Sicily*. But the Cities, which the Emperors held in those Parts, being reduced to a very small Number, they were all subjected to that Patrician: And thence that Part of *Italy* took the Name of *Sicily*, which Name was afterwards extended by the *Norman* and *Suevian* Princes, Masters of those Countries, to all the Provinces, of which the present Kingdom of *Naples* is composed. From a Charter of *Roger* the *Norman* of the Year 1115, it is manifest, that the Name of *Sicily* was then common to that Island and that Kingdom, but with this Difference, that the former was called *Sicily beyond the Faro*, and the latter *Sicily on this Side the Faro*. In our Days the King of *Naples* is still styled *King of the two Sicilies*.

(1) See above, p. 54.

(2) See vol. 3. p. 380. note O.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

57

to the Affairs of the Church, to redress the many enormous Abuses, that had every-where crept into it, and restore the ecclesiastical Discipline, at this Time, entirely decayed. But he found himself, when he expected it the least, involved in new Troubles, that engrossing all his Attention, allowed him no spare Time to think of any Reformation in the Church. For no sooner had *Charlemagne* left *Italy* than *Leo*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, pretending, that, by the Appointment of that Prince, he had succeeded the Exarch in all his Rights as well as in his Power and Authority, and laying claim, on that Pretence, to the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis*, seized on the Cities of *Faenza*, *Forlimpopoli*, *Forli*, *Cesena*, *Bobio*, *Imola*, *Bologna*, and the Dukedom as well as the City of *Ferrara*; drove every-where out the Officers of the Pope, and threw those into Prison, who were sent from *Rome* to complain, in *Hadrian's* Name, of such violent and unwarrantable Proceedings in a Prelate of the Church. Hereupon *Hadrian*, not able, or not caring to redress himself while he had one ever ready to fight his Battles for him, had again recourse to his Protector *Charlemagne*, complaining to him, in a long Letter, of the unparalleled Boldness and Presumption of the Archbishop, on whom he bestows, without any regard to his Character, the Epithet of *Nefandissimus*, and conjuring his most Christian Son, by all that is sacred, to undertake, without delay, a second Journey into *Italy*, if he intended that St. *Peter* should reap any Benefit from his first;

Year of
Christ 774.

The Pope invites Charlemagne again into Italy.

Upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter *Charlemagne*, who was then pursuing the Conquest of *Saxony*, or rather the Destruction of that People and their Country, dispatched immediately to *Rome* *Possessor* Bishop, and the Abbot *Rabigand* to assure the Pope, that he had the Interest of the Apostolic See as much at Heart as his own; but, at the same Time, to let him know, that he was not then at Leisure to undertake another Journey to *Italy*; but would not fail, as soon as he had put an End to the War, in which he was engaged, to comply with his Holiness's Desire, and settle Matters to his entire Satisfaction. But that War was not likely to be soon at an End, and the Pope was quite impatient to have the Cities restored, that the Archbishop had seized. Being therefore informed by a Nuncio, whom he sent to *Spoleti* to adjust some Differences between him and the Duke, that Envoys from the Dukes of *Friuli*, *Benevento* and *Chiusi* were met in that City, he construed, without further Enquiry, the Meeting of

Who excuses himself from undertaking that Journey.
Year of
Christ 775.

Cod. Carol. ep. 54.

Year of
Christ 775.

the Envoys into a Conspiracy, that was hatching by the Dukes against *Charlemagne* and himself. And accordingly, to make *Charlemagne* hasten his Return into *Italy*, he immediately dispatched a Messenger to him with the following Intelligence; that the four Dukes maintained a private Correspondence with *Adalgisus* and the Emperor, who had warmly espoused the Cause of that Prince; that early in the Spring a mighty Fleet was to be sent against *Italy* with a numerous

The Lombard
Dukes falsely
charged by
the Pope with
conspiring
against Char-
lemagne.

Army on board; that the four Dukes had agreed to act in Concert with the Emperor, and that they had nothing less in their View than to surprise *Rome*, to drive the *French* every-where out, and placing *Adalgisus* on the Throne of his Father, restore the Kingdom of the *Lombards*. *Charlemagne* however made, it seems, no great Account of that Intelligence: For he only ordered his Envoys *Possessor* and *Rabigaud* to repair to the Courts of *Spoleti* and *Benevento*, in order to discover the Disposition of those Dukes, and observe whether any military Preparations were carrying on in their Dukedoms. The Envoys found every thing quiet in both Places, and the Dukes, so far as they could judge, pleased rather than dissatisfied with the new Government. *Hadrian* had flattered himself, that the King, taking upon his bare Word all he had written to be true, would have hastened into *Italy*, would have deposed those Dukes without further Enquiry, and, what was his chief Concern, obliged the Archbishop to restore all the Places he had taken. But *Charlemagne*, knowing how jealous the Pope was of the Power of those Dukes; what Hatred he bore, as all his Predecessors had done, to the *Lombards* in general, acquiesced in the Report, that was made to him by his Envoys, without taking the least Notice to the Dukes of the pretended Conspiracy, or of any thing else, that had been written against them by the Pope. This prudent Conduct in the King was not at all pleasing to the Pope, who, thinking himself thereby distrustful and slighted by his Friend and Protector, loudly complained of it in a Letter he wrote to him on this Occasion^u. But *Charlemagne* made no more Account of his Complaints than he had made of his Intelligence.

The Duke of
Friuli takes
upon him the
Title of King
of the Lom-
bards.

However in the latter End of the present Year *Rotgaud*, Duke of *Friuli*, and *Rotgaud* to the Duke of *Benevento* the most powerful of all the *Lombard* Dukes, scorning to live subject to a foreign Prince, openly revolted, with a Design to place, not *Adalgisus* but himself

^u Cod. Carol. ep. 59.

^v Cod. Carolin. ep. 58.

Hadrian. BISHOPS of Rome.

59

on the Throne. Several Cities declared in his Favour; and others he surpris'd, or took by Force, causing himself to be every-where proclaimed King of the *Lombards*. Upon the first Notice of this Revolt *Charlemagne*, who had put his Troops into Winter Quarters on the Frontiers of *Saxony*, hastened with the Choice of his Army into *Alsace*; for he is said to have kept his Christmas there, and marching from thence in the Depth of Winter, entered *Italy* before it was known that he had moved from *Saxony*, surpris'd the Duke, and having put to Flight the few Troops he had Time to assemble in that Surprise, took him Prisoner, and caused his Head to be publicly struck off. *Stabilinian*, Father-in-law to the Duke, shutting himself up in the City of *Trevigio*, defended the Place with great Bravery till it was betrayed to the Enemy by an *Italian* Priest, whose Treachery *Charlemagne* rewarded with the Bishopric of *Verdun*. Indeed it was by such Services that the Clergy qualified themselves, at this Time, for Bishoprics; and for such Services were they commonly preferred to that Station by the Princes. We therefore need not at all wonder at the scandalous and debauched Lives, that the Ecclesiastics of all Ranks are said to have led in those Days. The Princes preferred such only as had been, or were capable of being serviceable to them, however otherwise disqualified; and the pretended Heads of the Church were so entirely taken up with temporal Affairs, that they had no Time to mind the ecclesiastic. Upon the Reduction of *Trevigio* the other Cities all submitted of their own accord; and *Charlemagne*, not caring to trust a *Lombard* with the Government, appointed one *Marcaire*, a Native of *France*, Duke of *Friuli*, and Counts in each City to govern under him^w.

The King continued in *Friuli* till Easter, which he propos'd, as he wrote to the Pope, to keep at *Rome*; and to have the Son, whom Queen *Hildegard* had lately brought him, baptized by his Holiness on that Solemnity. But being, in the mean Time, informed, that the *Saxons* had revolted a second Time, that is, had endeavour'd to recover their Liberty, of which *Charlemagne* had no Right, nor Pretence to rob them, he solemnized that Festival, which fell this Year on the 14th of *April*, at *Trevigio*; and then repassing the *Alps* with the same Expedition, with which he had pass'd them, he appear'd

^w Annal. Meten. & Petav. Regin. in Chronic. Cod. Carol. ep. 57. Eginhard in vit. Carol.

Year of
Christ 776. on the Frontiers of *Saxony* while he was thought by the *Saxons* to be still in *Italy*^x.

The Pope dis-
appointed and
mortified at
his sudden
Departure. His sudden Departure was a great Mortification to the Pope, who had flattered himself, that before he left *Italy*, he would have obliged the audacious Archbishop to restore to the Apostolic See the Places he had taken, and at least severely reprimanded him for presuming to seize them. But instead of that, upon the Return of the Legates, whom he had sent to wait on the King, and complain to him of the unjust and violent Proceedings of the presumptuous Prelate, he received a Letter written with the King's own Hand in commendation of the Archbishop, who, it seems, had been very assiduous in attending him, during his Stay in *Friuli*, and being a Man of Address, had found Means to insinuate himself greatly into his Favour. The Pope, in Answer to the King's Letter, assured him, that he bore no Ill-will to the Archbishop; that whoever was so happy as to be favoured by his most Christian Son, should be equally favoured by him; but that he could not, in Conscience, suffer *St. Peter* to be robbed of the Effects of his Generosity, nor him of the Reward, that was reserved for his Generosity in Heaven. He therefore earnestly entreats and conjures him, as he tenders the Salvation of his Soul, not to connive at the sacrilegious Presumption of the Archbishop, how well soever he may have deserved of him in other Respects, but oblige him, without delay, to restore to *St. Peter* what he could not allow him to keep without taking from the Apostle what he himself had given him, and thereby forfeiting his Favour and Protection^y.

His Letter to
him.

He complains
to Charle-
magne of the
Duke of Chi-
usi and the
Bishop of Ra-
venna. This Year the Pope wrote three other Letters to *Charlemagne*. In the first he loudly complains of *Raginald*, Duke of *Chiusi*, who had seized on the Patrimony of *St. Peter* in that Dukedom, and begs that he may be removed, as an avowed Enemy to that Apostle, and one, who had ever been at variance with him and his Vicars^z. In the other, to prejudice *Charlemagne* against his Antagonist the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, he acquaints him, that he has received a Letter from the Patriarch of *Grado* in *Friuli*, which, he says, was intercepted, opened, and read by the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, no doubt, with a Design to discover the Contents, and communicate them, if

^x Annal. Met. & Loisel. Ego in vit. Carol.

^y Cod. Carol. ep. 53.

^z Cod. Carol. ep. 60.

he found they were of any Importance, to the Duke of *Benevento*, ^{Year of} and to the other Enemies of the Apostolic See and of *France*. As ^{Christ 776.}
John, Patriarch of *Grado*, lived in great Intimacy with the Pope, the Archbishop might have opened the Letter, and probably did, to discover whether it contained any thing relating to himself. But upon that Action the Pope put the worst Construction he possibly could, because it best served his Purpose, to estrange the King from one, who rivaled him in his Favour. To calumniate with so pious a Design, was it seems, no Crime, but rather meritorious, according to the Casuistry of *Hadrian*. In the same Letter he tells the King, that the Insolence of the Archbishop was no longer to be endured; that depending upon his Favour and Protection he paid no kind of Regard to the Admonitions, Menaces and Exhortations of the Apostolic See, and that, bidding Defiance to St. *Peter* and himself, he had even the Assurance to assume and oblige others to give him the Title of Prince of *Ravenna*^a. To these Letters *Charlemagne*, who had, at this Time, other Affairs of greater Importance on his Hands, and was quite tired with the Pope's Complaints, returned no other Answer, than that he should send, in the Autumn, Embassadors into *Italy* with a strict Charge to see all the Promises made good, that had ever been made by himself, or his Father to St. *Peter* and his See^b.

The Pope waited the Arrival of the Embassadors with the greatest Impatience till the Month of *November*. But not receiving, even ^{And presses him to send} then, any Tidings of them, he wrote to the Magistrates of *Pavia* ^{Commissaries or to come} to know of them when he might expect them. The Magistrates ^{himself into} answered, that they were not yet set out from *France*, nor would they, they believed, set out in Haste. This Answer gave great Uneasiness to the Pope. He began to apprehend, that *Charlemagne* was grown cold in his Friendship for him, and his Zeal for the Interest of his See; and besides beheld, with the utmost Indignation, the haughty and ambitious Archbishop, (being himself free from all Haughtiness and Ambition) taking upon him, in the mean Time, the Port of a Prince, and enjoying undisturbed the rich Revenues and all the Wealth of the Exarchate. He therefore wrote a third Letter to *Charlemagne*, pressing and conjuring him to send Embassadors without delay, or return in Person into *Italy*, to protect the Patrimony of St. *Peter* against the sacrilegious Depredations of wicked Men, if he desired to be, as he had hitherto been on all Occasions, protected by

^a Cod. Carol. ep. 52.^b Ibid. ep. 51.

Year of
Christ 776.

Charle-
magne sends
Embassadors
to quiet the
Pope.

that Apostles. Upon the Receipt of this Letter *Charlemagne* dispatched to *Rome* the Bishop *Possessor* and an Abbot named *Dodo*; but it was only to acquaint the Pope, or rather make him believe, that he proposed returning to *Italy* the ensuing *October*, and quiet him, as he grew daily more troublesome, by that Means for a While. For that Journey he put off, tho' importuned by the Pope with Letters after Letters and endless Legations, till the Year 780, when having, after a nine Years War, settled, for the present, the Affairs of *Saxony*, he set out for *Italy*, at last, with his Queen *Hildegard*, and two of his Sons by her, *Carloman* and *Lewis*. He arrived at *Pavia* in the Autumn of that Year, and having kept his Christmas and spent the rest of the Winter in that City, he repaired to *Rome*, as Easter

Goes himself
to Rome.

Year of
Christ 781.

~~~~~

approached, to solemnize that Festival there. His second Entry into *Rome* was no less magnificent and solemn than his first; and he was attended, so long as he stayed, by the Pope in Person, by the *Roman* Magistrates, and all the *Roman* Nobility. One of the chief Motives, that brought him to *Rome*, at this Time, was, that his Son *Carloman* might be baptized on Easter-day by the Pope. *Carloman* was born in 776; but *Charlemagne* had put off his Baptism till his Affairs allowed him to repair to *Rome* to have that Sacrament administered

His Son Car-  
loman bapti-  
zed there by  
the Pope.

to him there by his Holiness: And it was administered to him accordingly by his Holiness with the greatest Solemnity. It is observable, that the Pope, who was himself Sponsor for the Child, changed, on that Occasion, the Name of *Carloman* for that of *Pepin*, probably out of Regard to the Memory of his Grandfather, the Author of his temporal Grandeur. As *Charlemagne's* eldest Son, whom he had by his first Wife *Himiltrude*, bore the same Name, Authors frequently mistake the one for the other. A few Days after *Hadrian*, at the Request of the King, gave the royal Unction to his two Sons; and *Carloman*, now *Pepin*, was by his Father proclaimed King of *Lombardy*, and *Lewis*, at this Time but three Years old, King of *Aquitaine*. Thus he provided for his two younger Children, the Kingdoms of *Neustria*, *Austrasia* and *Burgundy* falling to the Share of the two elder *Pepin* and *Charles*; and at the same Time flattered himself, that the *Lombards* and People of *Aquitaine*, whom he had lately conquered, having Kings of their own, would not be so easily tempted to shake off the Yoke, as if their Countries were made Provinces of *France*<sup>d</sup>.

Who gives  
the royal Unc-  
tion to him  
and his Bro-  
ther Lewis.

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Carol. ibid.  
dice. Annal. Moissiac.

<sup>d</sup> Eginhard. in vit. Carol. Chron. Nibelung. in appen-

As for the Affairs of the Pope, no kind of mention is made, at this Time, of the Quarrel between him and the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, or of the Restitution of the Places the Archbishop had seized. However as we find the Pope henceforth possessed of those Places, it is not to be doubted but that *Charlemagne* caused them all to be restored before he left *Rome*. He likewise adjusted, during his Stay in that City, the Difference, that had some Time subsisted, between the Pope and the Duke or Governor of *Naples*: The Duke had seized on the Patrimony of *St. Peter* in that Dukedom, and the Pope, by way of Reprisals, on the City of *Terracina*. But that City the Duke had retaken by Surprise, and still continued to withhold the Revenues of the Patrimony. The Pope therefore, to deliver himself from so troublesome a Neighbour, would have willingly persuaded the King, to invade the Dukedom, and seize on the City of *Naples* itself, alledging that he would thereby entirely defeat the wicked Designs of the Duke of *Benevento*, who depending on the Neighbourhood and the Assistance of the *Greeks*, was ready, he said, to declare for *Adalgisus*, whose Sister he had married, and place him, when an Opportunity offered, on the Throne of his Father. But the King, unwilling to break at this Juncture with the Emperor, instead of hearkening to the Suggestions of the Pope, contented himself with interposing his good Offices; and it was agreed, that the Duke should restore the Patrimony; should pay the Arrears as soon as he conveniently could, and in the mean Time deliver up to the Pope four Children of the four chief Families of *Naples* to be kept as Hostages till the Agreement was fully performed. As for the Duke of *Benevento*, the King, knowing how jealous the Pope was of the Power of that Duke, paid no kind of Regard to his Insinuations against him. The King had given the Dukedom of *Spoleti* to the Pope, as has been related above; but Disputes daily arising between him and the Duke, he took back that Dukedom, before he left *Rome*, and gave the Province of *Sabina* to the Pope in its lieu. *Charlemagne*, having thus settled the Affairs of *Italy* returned to *France*, leaving his Son *Pepin*, King of *Lombardy*, in *Pavia* the Metropolis of his new Kingdom.

During these Transactions in the West, great Changes happened at the Court of *Constantinople* in the East. The Emperor *Constantine*

Year of  
Christ 781.

The Affairs  
of Italy how  
settled by  
Charle-  
magne.

Great Chan-  
ges in the  
Court of Con-  
stantinople.

\* Cod. Carol. ep. 69.

time,

Year of  
Christ 781.

time, surnamed *Copronymus*, died in 775 (O), and was succeeded by

(O) The contemporary Historians give us the following Account of his Death. The King of the *Bulgarians*, whose Army, breaking under his Conduct into the Empire had been entirely cut off by *Constantine*, suspecting that he had been betrayed by some of his own People, wrote, in Appearance, a most friendly Letter to the Emperor, pretending that he designed to quit the Crown, and lead a private Life at *Constantinople*. For that Purpose he begged *Constantine* would send him a safe Conduct, and, at the same Time, let him know what Friends he had among the *Bulgarians*, that he might repair with them to *Constantinople*, being unwilling to trust his Design or his Person to others. *Constantine*, not suspecting any Deceit, which seems very surprising and scarce credible, sent him immediately the Names of all the *Bulgarians*, who corresponded privately with him; which the crafty Prince no sooner received than he caused them all to be inhumanly massacred. The Emperor, finding himself thus shamefully deluded, is said by *Theophanes* to have torn off his Hair in the Transport of his Passion, to have sworn Revenge, and ordered vast military Preparations to be made throughout the Empire, with a Design to extirpate the whole Race of the *Bulgarians*. Having thus spent, in warlike Preparations, the greater Part of the Year, he set out from *Constantinople* in the latter End of the Summer. But being seized on his March, as the Weather was extream hot, with a violent Fever, and Carbuncles, as the Historians call them, breaking out on his Thighs and his Legs, he returned to *Archadropolis*, was conveyed from thence to *Selymbria*, and from *Selymbria* by Sea to *Strongylum*, where he died in the Vessel on the 13th of *September*, in the 56th Year of his Age, after he had reigned 55, viz. 21 with his Father, &c. alone, and 24 with his Son (1). To the Account the Author of the *Miscella*, and *Theophanes*, who lived at this very Time, give us of *Constantine's* Death, *Cedrenus*, who wrote 300 Years after, adds that in the Agonies of Death he cried out that he was

delivered alive to an unextinguishable Fire, on account of the *Virgin Mary*; that he commanded her to be thenceforth honoured as the true Mother of God, and that he expired in praying for the Safety of the People, of the Senate, of his Son, and the Preservation of the Churches of *St. Sophia*, of *St. Mary in Blachernis*, *St. Mary in Chalcoopratriis*, and other Churches of *Constantinople*, which that Writer names. Upon the Authority of *Cedrenus Baronius*, *Natalis Alexander*, *Maimbourg* and the whole Tribe of the Popish Writers deliver it as a Thing not at all to be doubted, that *Constantine*, at the Point of Death, despaired of his Salvation; that he died crying out he was condemned alive to the eternal Flames, for the Blasphemies he had uttered against the *Virgin Mary*, and that he commanded her to be thenceforth honoured as the true Mother of God, without any Regard to what he had said or done against her. But of all this not a single Word in *Theophanes*, in the Author of the *Miscella*, in *Paulus Diaconus*, or *Nicephorus*, who all lived in these Times or near them, and were all no less zealous Advocates for the Worship of Images, of Saints, of the *Virgin Mary*, and no less provoked against *Constantine* for banishing that Superstition than *Cedrenus*. And is it at all probable, that had they been acquainted with the above-mentioned Circumstances of *Constantine's* Death, so favourable to the Cause they maintained, they would have all passed them over in Silence? They would not perhaps have been so uncharitable as to triumph and exult, as *Baronius* and *Maimbourg* have done, in the supposed Damnation of the Emperor; but neither would they have concealed it. Now if the Writers, who lived, as some of them did whom I have mentioned, at the very Time of *Constantine's* Death, were unacquainted with those melancholy Circumstances of it, how came *Cedrenus* acquainted with them three Hundred Years after? We shall soon see the Testimony of *Sigebert*, concerning a certain Council, rejected by *Baronius* and all the Popish Writers to a Man, (and shall

(1) *Theoph. ad ann. Constantin. 33, 34, 35. Author. Miscell.*

reject

by his Son *Leo* the 11th of that Name, who reigned only five Year of Christ 781. Years(P).

reject it together with them) chiefly because no mention is made of that Council by any of the contemporary Writers, and *Sigebert* lived three Hundred Years after the Time, in which it was supposed to have been held. The only Reason I can allege, and *Baronius* himself, I believe, could have alleged no other, why he rejected the Testimony of the one Writer, and admitted that of the other, tho' the same Objection lay equally against both, was because the Testimony of the one made against and the Testimony of the other made for the Cause, which he had undertaken to maintain without any Regard to Truth, Conscience, or Honesty. As for *Constantine's* blaspheming the Virgin *Mary*, and believing himself damned on that Account, if the Words of *Cedrenus* are to be thus understood; he would not indeed allow the Worship to be given to her, to her Image, or to any other Creature, that he thought due to God alone; but at the same Time he respected, revered and honoured her as the Mother of God, anathematizing with the Fathers of the Council, that was held under him, *all, who did not confess the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, to be above all visible and invisible Creatures* (1). By the same Council were anathematized *all, who did not confess the Saints, who before the Law, and under the Law had pleased God, to be honourable in his Sight* (2); so that he no otherwise blasphemed the Virgin *Mary*, or the other Saints, but by forbidding them to be worshipped, or commanding all Worship to be given to God alone. He did not, even according to *Cedrenus*, command the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints to be thenceforth worshipped, or their Images to be restored, which he had caused to be cast out of the Churches; and therefore did not repent or retract what he had done, as is affirmed by *Baronius* and *Maimburg*, who from thence take Occasion to compare him to the wicked King *Antiochus*, and would make us believe, that Repentance was as useless to him as it was to that King.

As *Constantine* spared no Pains, and, I

may say, no Punishments, to suppress, and effectually suppressed the superstitious Worship of Images, at least in the East, the Monks, who lived chiefly by that Superstition, and wrote after it was restored, have spared no Pains in their Turn to blacken his Character, and render his Name infamous to the latest Posterity. There is no Crime, which they have not, with that View, laid to his Charge; no Herefy, of which they have not arraigned him. He was, if they are to be credited, an *Arian*, an *Eutychian*, a *Nestorian*, a *Socinian*, a *Manichee*, &c. and besides, a Magician, and one, who dealt with the Devil, who invoked the Devil, who worshipped the Devil, while he would not allow the Servants of God to worship the Saints. Were all we read, or the hundredth Part of what we read in the *Invectives* of the Monkish Writers against this excellent Emperor true, *Maimburg* might, in drawing his Character, have called him; as he does, and called him with Justice, the most wicked Prince, that ever lived on the Earth, or rather a Monster, in whom centered all Abominations without the least Appearance of one single Virtue to atone for so many Vices (3). But with no one Vice is he charged by the contemporary Historians, who, had they known he was guilty of or addicted to any, would not have failed, we may be sure, as they were all his avowed Enemies, to publish them to the World. They speak indeed very reservedly of his Virtues; but yet own him to have been a Prince of great Temperance, of uncommon Resolution and Courage, well skilled in War, greatly beloved by all, who served under him either in military or civil Employments, and one, who defended the Empire, with good Success, against the *Saracenes* and the *Bulgarians*, that is, with such Success as would have procured him the highest Encomiums from the Writers of those Times, had not his Zeal for the Purity of the Christian Worship made them his Enemies. His Severity, or, as it is called, his Cruelty to the Worshipers of Images, espe-

(1) See vol. 3. p. 364.  
not last. l. 3. p. 336, 337.  
VOL. IV.

(2) Vol. 3. *ibid.*

(3) *Maimb. Hist. Ico-*

Year of Christ 781. Years(P). He was married in 769 to *Irene*, a Native of *Athens*, of whom I shall have frequent Occasion to speak in the Sequel, and had by

cially the Monks, is the only Thing the Historians, who deserve any Credit, have been able, with the least Appearance of Truth, to lay to his Charge. Against the Monks indeed he proceeded, it must be owned, with the utmost Severity; but not till he found that he could by no other Means overcome their Obstinacy, and wean them from the Superstition, which he was determined, at all Events, to suppress, and till they, not satisfied with setting up and worshipping Images in Defiance of his repeated Edicts, and the Definition of a General Council, began to disturb the Peace of the Empire, to stir up the People to Sedition and Rebellion, and had even the Insolence to insult him, and in the grossest Manner, to his Face(1). His Severity to them was great, and great was the Provocation they gave him. Had the Protestant Subjects of *Lewis XIV.* behaved in like manner; had they, in Defiance of his Edicts, pulled down and destroyed the Images he worshipped; had they disturbed the Peace of his Kingdom, stirred up the People, by seditious Harangues, to Rebellion, and publicly insulted and reviled him, they would not have met with better Treatment from him, perhaps with worse, than the Monks met with from *Constantine*; nor would *Maimburg*, who justifies all the Severities, that were practised upon that unhappy People without the least Provocation, have thought that his grand Monarch, when thus provoked, would have deserved to be painted as a *blood-thirsty Tyrant*, as a *Monster of Cruelty*, for resenting such Usage with the same Severity it was resented with by the Emperor.

As to the various Heresies, which the Monkish Writers have charged him with; they are, most of them at least, quite incompatible with each other; and besides, *Constantine* condemned with the Council, which he assembled, signed, and caused to be received all over the East, every Heresy, that had till that Time been condemned by the Church. The only Heresy therefore, that can justly be laid to his Charge, was

what a Council of 338 Bishops had defined, viz. that God alone is to be worshipped, and worshipped in *Spirit and Truth*. Magic, which *Constantine* has been arraigned of by the Monks, as well as of Heresy, was, in those Days, a common Charge; and all were Magicians and dealt with the Devil, who quarrelled with the Monks or the Clergy. Upon the whole, had *Constantine* as zealously promoted the Worship of Images as he opposed it, it is not at all to be doubted but that he would have been placed amongst the best Princes, if not the greatest Saints, by those very Writers, who have filled their Histories and their Legends with virulent Declamations against him. His undertaking to abolish the most wicked, as he thought, as well as the most favourite Superstition, that had ever crept into the Church, and steadily pursuing so difficult an Undertaking at the Expence of his own Quiet, and not without endangering both his Crown and his Life, must alone convince every unbiassed Reader that he was a most religious Prince, having above all Things at Heart the Purity of the Religion he professed. He left some Writings behind him, which, we may be sure, have not been suffered to reach our Times. Some of them however were still extant in the Time of *Theodosius*, who tells us that he had read thirteen Orations written by *Constantine*, surnamed *Copronymus*. But all he says of them is, that in none of them was mentioned the Invocation of Saints. Indeed *Constantine* allowed, as we have seen elsewhere(2), the Intercession, but not the Invocation of Saints.

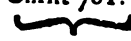
(P) *Leo* was born, according to *Theophanes*, in 750; was taken by his Father, in 751, for Partner in the Empire; succeeded him on the 13th of September 755; and died on the 8th of the same Month 780; so that he died in the 30th Year of his Age, having reigned 4 Years with his Father, and 25 alone, wanting six Days. Nothing remarkable happened in his Reign besides the Conversion of *Telerus* King of the *Bulgarians*, who, moved with

(1) See above, p. 12.

(2) See vol. 3. p. 365.

## Hadrian. BISHOPS of Rome.

67

by her, in 771, a Son named *Constantine*, who succeeded him in 780, his Mother governing, as he was under Age, in his Name. But <sup>Year of</sup> <sup>Christ 781.</sup>  in

an earnest Desire of embracing the Christian Religion, left his Kingdom, and repaired to *Constantinople*, where he was received by the Emperor with extraordinary Marks of Kindness and Esteem, and baptized by the Patriarch with the greatest Solemnity. After his Baptism the Emperor, who was himself his Sponsor, created him a Patrician, married him to a near Relation of the Empress *Irene*, and raised him to the highest Honours of the Empire (1).

*Leo* was as great an Enemy to Images as his Father or Grandfather; revoked none of their Edicts, and would allow no Images to be publicly set up, or publicly worshipped; but yet gave no Encouragement to Informers, suffered no Searches to be made, in private Houses, after Pictures or Images, and contented himself with only reprimanding those, who were arraigned or convicted of still practising the condemned Superstition. He flattered himself, that he should thus more effectually wean them from their superstitious Practices, than by all the Severity and Rigour he could use. Indeed the worst of Sects have flourished the most, when under Persecution, and insensibly mouldered away; when Toleration and Mercy took Place. The famous Saying, *Sanguis martyrum semen Christianorum*, may, with as much Truth, be applied to every Religion, as it was, in Times of Persecution, applied to the Christian. This Conduct *Leo* pursued, during the four first Years of his Reign, but afterwards changed it on the following Occasion. When his Father *Constantine* married him to *Irene* one of the Marriage Articles was, that she should neither worship Images herself, nor ever suffer them to be worshipped by others. Whether she then really was, or was only suspected to be, addicted to that Superstition, History does not inform us. But in this all Historians agree, that at the Desire of both Princes she bound herself, in their Presence, by a most solemn Oath to observe that Article most religiously so long as she lived. But, without any Regard to the Sacredness of her Oath, she had, after

the Death of the Emperor *Constantine*, Images privately conveyed to her, and privately worshipped them. As in most Courts there are as many Spies as Courtiers, and what is spoken or done there in Closets is proclaimed, in a short Time, upon the House-tops, *Leo* was soon informed of the superstitious Practices of his Wife, and charged her with them. But she, not satisfied with denying the Charge, had even the Assurance to reproach the Emperor with want of Confidence in crediting his lying Informers rather than her, who had never deceived him. Hereupon *Leo*, who was better informed than she imagined, caused her Closet, her Bed-chamber, and even her Bed to be narrowly searched, and at last two Images were found concealed in her Pillow. Upon that Discovery the Emperor, provoked beyond measure in seeing his very Palace turned into a Temple of Idols, spared no Pains to find out the Persons, who had had the Boldness to convey them thither; and he found in the End, that the *Papias*, or the Person, who was trusted, during the Night, with the Keys of the Gates of the Palace, had brought them in; that the Captain of the Guards, and the Empress's two Chamberlains *Strategius* and *Theophanes*, were privy to his bringing them in, and that they had all joined with the Empress in the idolatrous Worship she paid to those Images. The Emperor therefore ordered them to be immediately apprehended, to be severely whipped, and to be ignominiously conveyed on Asses, through the most frequented Streets of *Constantinople*, to the public Jail. As for the Empress, she boldly maintained to the last, that she was an entire Stranger to the whole Affair, and that the two Images had been concealed in her Pillow either by some, who still adhered to that Superstition, but never suspected that any one would have dared to search her very Bed or her Bed-chamber; or by some malicious Person with the wicked Design of interrupting the Harmony, that had hitherto reigned between her beloved Husband and her, and

(1) Theoph. ad ann. Leon. 2.



Year of  
Christ 781.

in the very Beginning of her Regency, *Theophanes* says forty Days after the Death of the Emperor, some of the Senators and great Officers

with that Harmony the Happiness of both. *Irene*, says here *Maimburg*, was not so zealous a Catholic, as the holy Men mentioned above. But to do her Justice; if Catholicism consists, as that Writer supposes it does, in the Worship of Images, *Irene* chose rather to break a most solemn Oath, than to abstain from that Worship; which is more perhaps than those holy Men would have had Zeal or Courage enough to have done. As *Leo* was too well informed to doubt of the Guilt of his Wife, he bitterly reproached her with the Breach of her Oath, with want both of Religion and Honour, and driving her from his Presence would never afterwards see her. *Maimburg* tells us that he said all the brutish and shocking Things to her, that Passion and Rage could suggest. But even *Cedrenus*, his favourite Author, whom he quotes, says no more than that he called her, in a Passion, *a good for nothing Woman, eam nauci esse dixit* (1).

*Leo* lived but a very short Time after this Quarrel; and *Theophanes*, the Author of the *Miscella*, and *Cedrenus* gives us the following Account of his Death. As he was passionately fond of precious Stones, he took out of the Church of St. *Sophia* a Crown, which had been deposited there by the Emperor *Mauricius* or *Heraclius*, and was enriched with Carbuncles of an inestimable Value, to wear it on Occasion of some public Solemnity. But while he was wearing it, Carbuncles broke out on his Head, and at the same Time he was seized with a violent Fever, which soon put an End to his Life (2). I will not quarrel with *Baronius* or *Maimburg* about the Truth of this Account, (tho' many Things of this Nature have been related and credited by the contemporary credulous Historians, that exceed all Belief) but think, that considering the Circumstances of the Emperor's Death, we need not recur, with them, to supernatural Causes to account for it. Natural Causes are but too obvious, tho' entirely dissembled by *Baronius*, and hinted at only by *Maimburg*

as groundless Conjectures. That *Leo* was poisoned, and poisoned by his Wife, I will not say is a Thing past all doubt, as some have done; but neither is it a *groundless Conjecture*. She was, as all Authors agree, one of the most ambitious Women we read of in History; and scrupled no Crime how unnatural soever and heinous to gratify her Ambition, as will appear in the Sequel. But by disobliging the Emperor in the Manner we have seen, and thereby forfeiting his Favour, and with his Favour the Power she had enjoyed to that Time, she found herself reduced to the Condition of a private Person; and in that State she was likely to continue, as the Emperor appeared irreconcilable, so long as he lived. But upon his Death she knew that, her Son being yet a Child, the whole Power must devolve upon her, and that, during his Minority at least, she should govern uncontrolled both him and the Empire. It is not therefore at all a groundless Conjecture, that a Woman of her unbounded Ambition and Spirit, and so abandonedly wicked, should have been tempted to remove the only Person out of the Way, that stood between her and the Power she aspired to, and that being checked by no Motives of Religion, Conscience or Honour, but rather spurred on by the Desire of gratifying her Revenge as well as her Ambition, she should have yielded to the Temptation. It is certain at least, if the above-mentioned Writers are to be credited, that the Emperor, who was then in the Flower of his Age, and had ever enjoyed most perfect Health, died soon after her Disgrace, and that upon his Death she was immediately acknowledged by her Friends at Court, with whom she privately corresponded, and whom she had perhaps employed as the Instruments of her Revenge and Ambition, for Regent of the Empire. As for the Fever, of which the Emperor died, and the Carbuncles attending it, which *Maimburg* describes as minutely as if he had seen, examined and counted them, they might have been the

(1) Cedren. tom. II. p. 469.  
Cedren. ubi supra.

(2) Theoph. ad ann. Leon. 5. Miscell.

Officers of State, scorning to be governed by a Woman, formed a Design of driving out both her and her Son, and placing *Nicephorus* <sup>Year of Christ 781.</sup> one of the late Emperor's Brothers on the Throne. But *Irene*, being <sup>*Irene governs during the Minority of her Son Constantine.*</sup> timely informed of their Design, caused all, who were concerned in it, to be apprehended, to be publicly whipped, and confined to different Islands<sup>f</sup>. The Emperor had three other Brothers, who had been all honoured by him with the Title of *Cæsars* and *Nobilissimi*; and these, to put them out of a Condition of ever affecting the Imperial Crown, the Empress commanded to be shaved, to take holy Orders, and to administer the Sacrament to the People on Christmas day in the Church of St. *Sophia*, that all might know they were <sup>*late Emperor's Brothers to be shaved and ordained.*</sup> shaved and ordained, and consequently rendered for ever incapable of the Imperial Dignity. On that Occasion the Empress assisted at Divine Service with her Son, attended by the great Officers of State and all the Nobility, to honour, with her Presence, the first ecclesiastical Function of the degraded *Cæsars*.

*Irene's* next Care was to chuse proper Ministers, that is, Ministers ready to fall in with her in all her Views and Designs. And she chose accordingly the Patrician *Stauracius* for her Prime Minister, a <sup>*What Minister she choſt.*</sup> Man of uncommon Abilities, a good Commander, and one entirely devoted to her; and filled all the other great Offices with Persons, on whose Fidelity and Attachment to her Person and Interest she knew she could safely rely. At the same Time she made it her Study to oblige the Army with Largeſſes, and to gain the Affections of the People and Clergy with an extraordinary Show of Religion and Piety. Swayed by her unbounded Ambition she could not think of ever parting with her present Power and Authority; and to maintain the one and the other so long as she lived she began early to pur-

<sup>f</sup> Theoph. ad ann. Leon. i. Miscell. l. 23.

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.

Effects of the Poison, that was administered to him; to that at least they may be more probably ascribed than to the Vengeance of Heaven upon the unhappy Prince for wearing a Crown only a few Hours, that was given to the Church; or for punishing those, who were assisting to his Wife in her superstitious Practices and the Breach of her Oath. But in the Deaths of all the Princes, who have opposed the Worship of Images, or indeed any other favourite Tenet of the *Romish* Church, in what Manner so ever they

died, the Writers of that Church have discovered something very extraordinary and quite unaccountable, that they might construe it into Judgments and the Vengeance of Heaven. And with as much Reason might the Protestants construe into Judgments the Death of *Henry II.* of *Charles IX.* of *Henry III.* of *France*, of *Philip II.* of *Spain*, and, not to mention others, of *Queen Mary of England*, who was cut off in the Flower of her Age at so seasonable a Juncture for our great *Queen Elizabeth* and the Protestant Cause.

Year of  
Christ 781.

*She defeats  
the Saracens  
and concludes  
an advanta-  
gious Peace  
with them.*

such Measures as appeared to her the best calculated to answer that Purpose.

In the mean time the *Saracens*, hearing the Emperor was dead and the Empire governed by a Woman, laid hold of that Opportunity to break into the eastern Provinces, and surprise there some Cities and Strong-holds. But *Irene* immediately dispatched one of her Generals against them, who coming up with them in *Asia* gave them a total Overthrow, and obliged them not only to retire with great Loss, but to conclude a Peace upon Terms very advantageous to the Empire<sup>h</sup>. This Success greatly recommended *Irene* to the Esteem and Good-will of the People, and even reconciled to her many, who had not hitherto approved of her Measures.

*She proposes a  
Marriage be-  
tween the  
Emperor her  
Son and the  
Daughter of  
Charle-  
magne.*

Year of  
Christ 782.

And now she had nothing, at present, to fear from the Enemies of the Empire in the East. But her Jealousy was roused by the Fame of *Charlemagne's* Exploits and the Rapidity of his Conquests in the West; the more, as she was informed that he was at this Time in *Rome*, and pressed by the Pope to invade the Dukedom of *Naples*, and seize on the small Remains of the Empire in *Italy*. This she was sensible he might easily accomplish; and therefore to divert him from attempting it, she resolved, as she never wanted Resources, to amuse him with the Proposal of a Marriage between his Daughter *Rotrude* (Q) and the young Emperor *Constantine*; and she sent accordingly a very solemn Embassy to *Charlemagne*, at the Head of which was *Constantine* High Treasurer of the Empire, to propose that Match as a Bond of eternal Friendship and Amity between the two great Christian Powers. *Charlemagne*, flattering himself, that the Court of *Constantinople* would, upon such an Alliance, quite abandon *Adalgisus*, or at least not encourage or support him in his Pretensions to the Kingdom of the *Lombards*, which would prevent any further Disturbances in *Italy*, hearkened with great Pleasure to the Proposal, and the Marriage Articles were settled and agreed to on the one Side and the other. But as the Emperor was, at this Time, only eleven Years old, and *Rotrude* only nine, she was left in *France*, and an Eunuch of the Imperial Palace, named *Eliseus*, was left with her to teach her the Language, and the Manners of the *Greeks*<sup>i</sup>. But

<sup>h</sup> Theoph. ad ann. 2. Constantin.

<sup>i</sup> Theoph. Miscell. Zonar. Cedren.

(Q) *Rotrude* was *Charlemagne's* eldest Daughter, born in 773. *Theophanes* calls her *Harystus* from the Greek Word  $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , signifying red; no doubt thinking that the word *Rotrude* had the same Signification among the *Franks*.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

71

this Marriage never took Place; nor indeed did *Irene* design it ever should. She apprehended that should her Son marry the Daughter of so renowned and powerful a Prince, he would probably be governed by his Counsils rather than by hers, and might, depending upon his Protection, shake off the Yoke, and govern either by himself, or as his Father-in-law, who would not fail to espouse his Cause, should direct him. The Proposal served to divert *Charlemagne* from attempting, at the Instigation of the Pope, the Conquest of *Italy*. But *Irene*, when no longer threatened with that Danger, started so many Difficulties, that in the End *Charlemagne* himself thought it adviseable, which was all the crafty Woman wanted, to break off the Treaty. It was no sooner broken off than the unnatural Mother forced her Son, tho' extremely desirous of an Alliance with *Charlemagne*, to marry an *Armenian*, named *Mary*, of an obscure Parentage and a very mean Education. The young Emperor was utterly averse to that Match, and earnestly begged his Mother would not insist upon his taking to his Bed and his Companion for Life one, to use the Expression of *Zonaras*, whom he utterly abhorred. But she was deaf to his Prayers and Entreaties, and apprehending her Power to be in no Danger from an obscure *Armenian*, or from her Friends and Relations, regardless of the Happiness of her Son she obliged him, in the End, to consent to the Match.

Year of  
Christ 782.

Her View  
therein.

The Treaty  
broken off and  
the young Em-  
peror obliged  
by his Mother  
to marry an  
Armenian.

However she continued to amuse *Charlemagne* with the Match between his Daughter and her Son, till she had put the grand Design in Execution, which she had formed in the very Beginning of her Regency, that of restoring, throughout the Empire, the Use and the Worship of Images. She had bound herself, as has been related above, by a most solemn Oath never to worship Images herself, or suffer them to be worshipped by others. But unmindful of that Oath, and perhaps thinking it even meritorious to break it, if a Woman of her Character could have any Notion of Merit or Virtue, she no sooner found herself vested with Power, than she undertook to establish what she had so solemnly promised to abolish. However she proceeded at first with great Caution, revoked none of the Edicts of the preceding Emperors against Images, but only connived at their being set up in some Churches, and would take no Notice of the Worship, that was given them by some of the Populace. Soon after, under Colour of granting to all an entire Liberty

She under-  
takes to re-  
establish the  
Worship of  
Images.

<sup>1</sup> Theoph. ad ann. Const. 13. Eginhard. in vit. Carol. Zonar. &c.

Year of  
Christ 782.

*Grants Li-  
berty of Con-  
science and  
recalls the ba-  
nished Monks.*

Year of  
Christ 783.

*Paul the Pa-  
triarch re-  
sigs.*

*The Account  
given by the  
Fathers of  
Nice and  
Theophanes  
of his Resig-  
nation.*

of Conscience, she declared it lawful for every one to hold, and publicly to maintain the Opinion with respect to Images, that should appear to them the best grounded, and at the same Time recalled the Monks, who in the preceding Reign had lain concealed in the Desarts, and whom she knew to be all most zealous Promoters of the Worship of Images. Thus were two of *Constantine's* Edicts revoked, both issued after the Worship as well as the Use of Images had been condemned at *Constantinople* by 338 Bishops. By the one all were forbidden, under the severest Penalties, to defend, practise or maintain a Worship condemned by a General Council. By the other the Subjects of the Empire were restrained from leading idle and indolent Lives in Monasteries under Colour of Devotion, or distinguishing themselves from their Fellow-subjects by any particular Dress<sup>1</sup>.

An Event is said to have happened at this Time, which greatly served to forward the Design of *Irene*, and encourage her to pursue it. It is thus related by *Theophanes*. *Paul*, Patriarch of the Imperial City, a Prelate of extraordinary Learning and Piety, finding himself indisposed, quitted thereupon the Patriarchal Throne, and withdrawing to a Monastery, took the monastic Habit, without imparting his Design either to the Emperor, or to the Regent his Mother. *Irene* no less surprised at the sudden Retreat, than concerned for the Loss of so worthy a Prelate, repaired with her Son, as soon as she heard of it, to the Monastery to learn from the Patriarch himself the true Cause of so unexpected a Resolution. But he, bursting into Tears as soon as she entered his Cell, cried out aloud before she could utter one Word, *O that I had never accepted the Episcopal Dignity in a Church, that was kept in Slavery, and cut off from, as well as anathematized by, all the other Patriarchal Churches on account of her Heresy<sup>m</sup>*. The Fathers of *Nice* add, that the Patriarch, who lay then at the Point of Death, owned, that being an Enemy to Images, he should have undergone the Fate of all other Heretics, and been condemned with the Devil to everlasting Darkness, had he not repented of his Error, and retracted it in the most public Manner he could<sup>n</sup>. *Irene*, continues *Theophanes*, greatly affected with the Words of the dying Patriarch, sent in great Haste, apprehending his End to be near, for the chief Patricians and Senators, to whom the holy Prelate, upon their entering his Cell, addressed

<sup>1</sup> Concil. Nic. 2. act. 2.  
Nic. 2. act. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Theoph. ad ann. Const. 9.

<sup>n</sup> Concil.

himself thus: You have all erred, you continue to err, and there is no Salvation for you, unless a General Council be convened, and the Error removed, that prevails among you. If so, replied the Patriarchs and Senators, why did you, at your Consecration, solemnly renounce the Worship of Images, and sign the Decree condemning that Worship? That is the very Crime, replied the Patriarch, the heinous Crime, that now afflicts and torments me; that is the Crime I now strive, by a sincere Repentance, to atone for, which I hope God will accept, and not punish me as I deserve, for having been hitherto silent, and declined preaching the Truth, as it was my indispensable Duty to do, lest I should thereby forfeit your Favour. These were his last Words; and he had scarce uttered them when he expired greatly lamented by all, by the good Men as well as the bad, by the pious as well as the impious; that is by Men of both Parties, by the pious, who held the Lawfulness of Image-worship, as well as by the impious, who denied it. For he was a most holy Man, generous to the Poor beyond measure, worthy of the highest Respect and Esteem, and one, in whom an entire Confidence was placed both by the Republic and the Empire<sup>o</sup>. Thus *Theophanes*.

Thus *Theophanes*; and in this Account the Popish Writers triumph, especially *Baronius* and *Maimburg*, as if they had carried their Cause. But should we even allow the Account to be true, I should be glad to know what can be inferred from it in Favour of Images. Is the Authority of one Man, how learned soever and wise, of a Man at the Point of Death, when the Understanding is commonly impaired, of Weight enough to counterbalance that of all the primitive Fathers, of all the learned and wise Men of the Catholic Church from the Times of the Apostles down to the eighth Century<sup>p</sup>, of 338 Bishops assembled in a General Council? I said, *should we allow the Account to be true*. But that it is not true; that, at least, it is highly improbable, tho' related by contemporary Writers, may be easily shown. *Paul* was raised to the Patriarchal Dignity, according to all the Historians and *Theophanes* himself<sup>q</sup> by the Emperor *Leo* in 780, the last Year of his Reign and his Life; so that *Paul*, who died in 784, must have presided in that Church four Years under *Irene*. Now as he could not but know that she had nothing so much at Heart as to establish the Use and the Worship of Images, and was

Year of  
Christ 783.

Evidently  
fabulous.

<sup>o</sup> Theoph. ubi supra.  
Leon.

<sup>p</sup> See vol. 3. p. 236.

<sup>q</sup> Theoph. ad ann. 5.

Year of  
Christ 783.

purſuing all the Meaſures, that appeared to her the beſt calculated for that Purpoſe, it is highly improbable, or rather altogether incredible, that he ſhould have really believed the Doctrines of Image-worſhip to be the true Catholic Doctrine, nay and been even perſuaded, that there was no Salvation for thoſe, who did not hold and profeſs it, and nevertheless have continued, to the Time of his Death, to profeſs the oppoſite Doctrine; and that, when he knew, that he could by no other Means more effectually recommend himſelf to the Favour of *Irene*, in whom centered all Power, than by renouncing the one, in compliance with the Dictates of his Conſcience, and embracing the other. Had he renounced, under *Leo*, the Worſhip of Images merely to qualify himſelf for the Patriarchal Dignity, as is affirmed by *Theophanes*, he would, without doubt, have declared for that Worſhip, as ſoon as the Power devolved on *Irene*, and not continued to oppoſe it, as he is ſaid to have done, againſt his Intereſt as well as his Conſcience. As he therefore continued to oppoſe it, and to oppoſe it with great Zeal, as appears from *Theophanes*, to the Time of his Reſignation, it is not at all to be doubted, but that he acted therein agreeably to his Opinion and Conſcience, and that finding *Irene* was determined to reſtore the condemned Superſtition, he choſe rather to reſign than contend with her, or be any ways acceſſory to ſo wicked a Deſign. As for his pretended Converſion, Repentance and Retraction, the whole was probably invented either by *Irene* herſelf, or by the good Fathers of *Nice*; as were many other Converſions, Apparitions, Miracles, Prophecies, which, with the Aſſiſtance of the Monks, they obtruded on the credulous Populace at a Time when none dared to diſprove them (R).

*Paul*

(R) Among the other ſtrange Events, that are ſaid to have happened at this Time, all well calculated to promote the Deſign of *Irene*, and recommend it to the ignorant Multitude, the following is worthy of Notice, being gravely related by *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, the Author of the *Miſcella*, *Zonaras*, *Gregoras*, and, we may be ſure, not paſſed over in Silence by *Baronius* and his Tranſcriber *Maimburg*. In the firſt Year of *Conſtantine's*, or rather of *Irene's* Reign, near the long Wall of *Thrace*, the Wall, that was built about 40 Miles from *Conſtantinople* to protect that

Province againſt the ſudden Irruptions of the Barbarians, was diſcovered by a Peaſant digging there the Body of a Man in a Stone Coffin with the following Inſcription in Greek; *Chriſt is to be born of the Virgin Mary: I believe in him. O Sun thou ſhalt ſee me again under Conſtantine and Irene*(1). This pretended Diſcovery and Prediction, as no Deceit was then ſuſpected, which plainly ſhows the Ignorance of the Age, greatly ſerved to recommend *Irene* to the Reſpect and Eſteem of the People, and were, no doubt, invented for that Purpoſe. With ſuch ſeaſonable Diſcoveries and Pre-

(1) Theoph. ad ann. Conſtantin. 4.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

75

*Paul* being dead, *Irene's* chief Care and Concern was to find a fit Person to substitute in his Room, that is, a Person both willing and able to promote her Design: And as these were the only Qualifications she requizid in the new Patriarch, she was not long at a Loss, whom she should chuse for that Dignity. Her Secretary, named *Tarasius*, a Name famous in the History of those Times, was a Man of uncommon Abilities and Address, descended from an illustrious and consular Family, as zealous a Friend to Images as the Empress herself, privy to her Design, and as ready to pursue as able to contrive the most proper Means of putting it in Execution. Upon him therefore she fixed; but apprehending that, as he was still a Layman, and it was strictly forbidden by the Canons to raise a Layman to the Episcopal Dignity, his Election might not be approved by the People, whose Concurrence she wanted, she undertook to gain their Approbation and Consent, before they could be acquainted with the Choice she had made; nay, and to make the Nomination of *Tarasius*, which required great Craft and Address, to come first from them. With that View she assembled the People in the great Hall of the Imperial Palace of *Blachernæ*, and there pretending the greatest Concern for the Loss of the late Patriarch, who she knew was by all greatly beloved, she told them, that since he had been snatched from them by Death, neither the Emperor nor she would take upon them to appoint him a Successor, without consulting them, who were to be directed by him, in all spiritual Matters, the only Matters of Moment, as well as they; that the Emperor had called them together for that Purpose, and did not at all doubt, but that, laying aside all Partiality, all private Affection, they would regard, in so important a Choice, Merit alone. She added, that indeed *Tarasius* was of all Men in the Empire the best qualified, in every Respect, for so important a Trust; that he was a Person of too extraordinary a Merit to be overlooked on such an Occasion; that both she and the Emperor had first of all cast their Eyes upon him. At these Words the whole Multitude cried out with one Voice, *Tarasius shall be our Bishop; we chuse Tarasius; he shall govern us and no other.* *Irene*, who had,

Year of  
Christ 783.

*Tarasius appointed Patriarch in the Room of Paul.*  
Year of  
Christ 784.

*The Craft and Address of Irene and Tarasius on that Occasion.*

ditions History abounds both sacred and profane: And I see no Reason why we should give more Credit to this Prediction, than to that, which was discovered ingraven on a Plate of Brass a little Time before the

Battle of *Granicus*, fortelling the imminent Destruction of the *Persian* Empire by the *Macedonians* (2), or to many other Predictions of the like Nature seasonably invented to serve some present Purpose.

(2) Plut. in Alexand.



Year of  
Christ 784.

in all likelihood, privately engaged before hand some of the Heads of the People, finding her Design succeeded so well, resumed her Discourse, and addressing the Multitude congratulated them on the Choice they had made, extolled the Merit of *Tarasius*; but you must know, she added, that he, tho' thus unanimously chosen both by you and by us, declines accepting a Dignity, which is so ambitiously sought for by others, and will not acquiesce in our Choice. Here the People cried out again, *we chuse him, and he must acquiesce; we will chuse no other; Tarasius is our Bishop, our Father, our Pastor.* Here *Tarasius*, who had attended the Emperor to the Assembly, rising up returned, in the first Place, Thanks to the Emperor and Empress, stiling them the Guardians of the Christian Faith, as well as to the People, for the good Opinion they entertained of him, and the Honour they had done him; then after a long Descant on the Importance of the Trust, to which he was called; on his want of Abilities to discharge it as he ought; on the unhappy Divisions, that reigned in the Church; on the deplorable Condition of the Church of *Constantinople* in particular, which, he said, was anathematized by all the other Patriarchal Churches, nay and by all the Churches both in the East and the West (T); and lastly on the Necessity of redressing such Evils, and uniting in one and the same Faith all Christian Churches, since they were all founded on one and the same Rock *Christ Jesus* (not *St. Peter*), and all acknowledged him for their Author, after, I say, a long Descant on these Subjects, he told the Assembly, as had, no doubt, been before hand agreed

(T) *Tarasius* was, it seems, very little acquainted with the State of the Church at this Time either in the East or the West. In the West all the Churches, the *Roman* alone excepted, agreed with that of *Constantinople* in condemning the Worship of Images; and as to the Use of Pictures and Images, they looked upon it as a Thing in itself quite indifferent, as will be shown hereafter; and therefore could not excommunicate and anathematize the Church of *Constantinople* for not using them in her Worship, or not allowing them to be used. In the East the Use as well as the Worship of Images had been condemned but 30 Years before, and consequently in *Tarasius's* Memory, by a Council of 338 Bishops; and the Decree condemning the one and the other continued in full Force

till it was tacitly revoked by *Irene*, as has been related above. *Hadrian* seems to have been better acquainted with the State of the Eastern Church than the new Patriarch; for in his Letter to *Constantine* and *Irene* he tells them, that *all the People in the East had erred about Images till it pleased Providence to place them on the Throne*, which is as much as to say, that all the Churches in the East condemned the Use and the Worship of Images, as well as the Church of *Constantinople*, which therefore could not, as was asserted by *Tarasius*, be anathematized on that Account by all the other Churches. But *Tarasius* knew that he might impose on his Audience, the ignorant Multitude, the most palpable Falshoods.

between

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

77

between him and *Irene*, that the only Means of removing the Evils he so justly complained of was, to have the Points, that divided them from all other Churches, impartially examined, and finally determined by a General Council; that if they consented to the assembling of one, he should think himself bound in Conscience to acquiesce in their Choice; but if they did not consent he was unalterably determined to concern himself, upon no Consideration whatever, with the Government of a schismatical Church, that was determined to continue in her Schism, and rejected the only Means of ever removing it. He had not yet done speaking when the whole Assembly, declaring with repeated Shouts their Assent to the calling of a Council, proclaimed *Tarasius* their Pastor and Patriarch; and he was accordingly ordained on Christmas-day of the present Year 784<sup>t</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 784.

*Irene*, having thus engaged the People on her Side, and with them some of the leading Men in the Senate, dispatched *Constantine* Bishop of *Leontium* in *Sicily*, and *Dorotheus* Bishop of *Naples* in *Campania* to *Rome* with a Letter to the Pope, in the Emperor's Name and her own, to acquaint his Holiness with the Promotion of *Tarasius*, and the Resolution, which the Emperor and she had taken jointly with him, to restore the venerable Images, to re-establish the Practice, that had obtained in the Church ever since the Times of the Apostles, and to assemble for that Purpose a General Council in the Imperial City. In the Letter they most earnestly entreated the Pope to repair to *Constantinople* in Person, assuring him, that, agreeably to the Orders they had transmitted to the Governor of *Sicily*, he should be every-where received and entertained, on his Journey from *Rome* to *Constantinople* as well as on his Return from *Constantinople* to *Rome*, in a Manner suitable to his Dignity. They added, that if he did not chuse to come in Person, which his known Zeal for the true Catholic Faith would not allow them to suppose, they did not doubt but he would send two Legates, Men of Probity and Learning, to assist, in his Name at the Council. The Direction of the Letter was, to the most holy and blessed Hadrian, Pope of old *Rome*. But in the Letter he is stiled the first Bishop, the Bishop, who presides in the Room and Chair of St. Peter<sup>u</sup>. At the same Time the new Patriarch dispatched to *Rome* one of his Presbyters, named *Leo*, with an Account of his Promotion, and a Confession of his Faith. But the Letter he wrote

*Irene acquaints the Pope with the Promotion of Tarasius and her Design to assemble a General Council.*

*And invites the Pope to it.*

<sup>t</sup> Theoph. ad ann. Constant. 9.

<sup>u</sup> Idem ad ann. Const. 10.

Year of  
Christ 784.

to the Pope on that Occasion has not reached the present Time. *Constantine, Dorotheus, and Leo* set out together from *Constantinople*; but on their Arrival in *Sicily*, *Constantine* and *Dorotheus* were by the Governor of that Island sent back to *Constantinople*, pursuant to an Order he had received from Court, and *Theodorus* Bishop of *Catanea*, and *Epiphanius*, Legate of the Archbishop of *Sardinia*, were appointed in their Room; which has led *Baronius* into a Mistake <sup>w</sup> as if two solemn Embassies had been sent to *Hadrian* on this Occasion.

And the other  
three Patri-  
archs.

*Tarasius* wrote at the same Time to the other three Patriarchs, viz. of *Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem*, to acquaint them with his Promotion, and invite them to the General Council, that would soon meet, by the Appointment of their most religious Emperors to heal the Divisions, that had reigned so long in the Church. His Letter contains an ample Confession of his Faith, wherein he condemns and anathematizes, by Name, all the Heresiarchs, that had been condemned and anathematized by the Church from the Times of the Apostles to his, and among these Pope *Honorius*, as a *Vine of Sodom, and of the Fields of Gomorrha, whose Grapes are Grapes of Gall, and Clusters bitter*<sup>x</sup>. He admits the Invocation as well as the Intercession of Saints and approves of the Picture of our Saviour represented in the Figure of a Lamb.

The Pope ap-  
plauds their  
Design.

In the mean Time *Theodorus, Epiphanius, and Leo* arrived at *Rome*, and were received there with extraordinary Marks of Joy. The Pope sent for them as soon as he heard of their Arrival, and understanding from the Emperor's Letter, that they were resolved to restore the sacred and venerable Images, and assemble for that Purpose a General Council, he returned Thanks to the Almighty for inspiring them with so godly a Resolution. Some Days after he answered the Letter he had received from the Emperors by another of an extraordinary Length, calculated to confirm and encourage them in the Resolution they had taken. He begins with commending, and in a very high Strain, the true Catholic Zeal of *Constantine* and *Irene* in undertaking to re-establish the ancient Practice of the Church, a Practice, that had obtained ever since the Times of the Apostles; and compares them, on that Account, to *Constantine the Great* and to *Helena*, by whom the Christian Religion was first established in

<sup>w</sup> Bar. ad ann. 785. p. 369. Vide Pagi ad eund. ann. p. 372.  
<sup>y</sup> Apud Bar. ad ann. 785. & Concil. Nic. 2. act. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Deut. 32.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

79

the Empire. He tells them that no human Tongue can express the Joy their Letter has given him; congratulates them on their being chosen by Heaven for so meritorious and so great an Undertaking, and to confirm them in what he calls the true Catholic Doctrine concerning the Use and the Worship of Images, he undertakes to prove the Lawfulness of the one and the other; nay, and to show that both had, ever since the Apostles Times, prevailed in, and been approved of by the Church.

Year of  
Christ 784.

To show that the Use of Images had been received and approved by the Church ever since the Times of the Apostles, he begins with the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, who came to the Crown in the fourth Century, and gravely relates, from the fabulous Acts of Pope *Silvester*, the following Story. *Constantine*, says he, being grievously afflicted with the Leprosy, dreamt one Night that the holy Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, appearing to him, advised him to send for Pope *Silvester*, who, they said, lay concealed in Mount *Soracte* to avoid the Persecution, but would come, if sent for, and show him a Fish-pond, in which, if he washed three Times, he should be clean. *Constantine* no sooner awaked than he sent for *Silvester*, and having acquainted him with his Dream, asked him what Gods *Peter* and *Paul* were, and whether he could show him their Pictures. The Pope answered, they were no Gods, but the Apostles of God, and sent immediately one of his Deacons for their Pictures, which the Emperor no sooner saw than he cried out, these are the very Persons, who appeared to me, show me the Pond. *Silvester* showed it; the Emperor washed in it; was cleaned, and baptized soon after. Behold, concludes *Hadrian*, from the very Beginning of our Religion all Christians had Images. As not the least mention is made by *Eusebius*, who wrote the Life of *Constantine*, or by any other contemporary Historian, of that Emperor's having ever persecuted the Christians, or his having been infected with, and miraculously cured of a Leprosy, and besides it is certain, (if *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Jerom*, *Ambrose*, *Athanasius*, and the 359 Bishops of the Council of *Rimini* held under *Constantius*, the Son of *Constantine*, are to be credited) that he was not baptized at *Rome*, but at *Nicomedia* a little before his Death. I should not have thought so absurd and improbable a Tale, tho' gravely related by a great Pope, worthy of a Place here, had it not been to show how utterly unacquainted Men were, at least the Advocates for Images were, in those Days

And in his  
Answer un-  
dertakes to  
prove the  
Lawfulness  
of Image-  
worship.

The Tale of  
Constantine's Bap-  
tism.

Year of  
Christ 784.

with the History of past Times and how distressed for want of Proofs from true History to support their Cause, since they were obliged to recur for that Purpose to such Fables and fabulous Legends, as even they are now ashamed of, who maintain the same Cause. Had *Hadrian* been but the least acquainted with the History of his own Church, he would have known, that *Constantine* embraced the Christian Religion in the Time of Pope *Melchiades*, the Predecessor of *Silvester*, and that he appointed him one of the Judges in the famous Controversy between *Cacilianus* of *Carthage* and the Donatists<sup>2</sup>. But should we even allow the Story as told by *Hadrian* to be true, it would not follow from thence, that both the Use and the Worship of Images had obtained in the Church, and obtained ever since the Times of the Apostles, but only that the Use had obtained, and not even that till the fourth Century.

His Arguments for  
setting up  
Images in  
Churches.

*Hadrian* having made it appear, in the manner we have seen, that the Use of Images prevailed among Christians from the very Beginning of the Christian Religion, *ab ipsis sanctæ fidei nostræ rudimentis*, (for that is the Consequence he draws from the Tale related above) undertakes in the next Place to prove that such a Practice was pleasing to God; and argues thus: All Things, that are appointed by human Discretion for the Honour of God, are pleasing to him; thus *Abel* in Honour of God offered up the first Fruits, and God was pleased with his Offering; *Noah* in Honour of God built an Altar, and upon that Altar offered Sacrifice, which was acceptable to God; *Jacob* in Honour of God erected a Pillar, and God approved what he had done. Now Images were appointed by human Discretion for the Honour of God; for in them we do not honour the Gold, the Brass, the Marble, the Colours, but the Servants of God, the Virgin *Mary*, the Apostles, the Martyrs, whom they represent; and the Honour we give to the Servants of God terminates in God. Excellent Divinity! And might not the Pagan Philosophers, upon the same Principle, and by the same Method of arguing have justified, against the Fathers, the Use of Images among them as well as the Honour or Worship they gave them? Their Images too were appointed by human Discretion for the Honour of God; for it was not the Gold, the Brass, the Marble, or the Colours they honoured, but the true God, or the Servants of the true God represented to them in their Images, as has been demonstrated elsewhere<sup>3</sup>. In like manner the golden Calf was appointed

<sup>2</sup> See vol. 1. p. 87, 91.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. 3. p. 215. note B. & p. 217. note C.

by human Discretion for the Honour of God, and so were the Calves set up by *Jeroboam* at *Dan* and *Bethel*; for in them the *Jews* worshipped *the God of Israel, who brought them out of the Land of Egypt*<sup>b</sup>; and we cannot suppose them to have been all so entirely destitute of common Sense as really to believe, that the Images, which they had just seen made, had brought them out of the Land of *Egypt*. Those Images therefore were appointed by human Discretion only as Symbols of God, in which and by which he was to be honoured; and yet they were not pleasing, but highly displeasing to God. I might add, that, if whatever is appointed by human Discretion for the Honour of God, is pleasing to him, the calling Images out of the Churches, and destroying them was pleasing to him, since that was appointed to be done for the Honour of God, or to prevent the Honour, that is due to him alone, being given to others.

The other Proofs, offered by the Pope in Favour of Images, are *The Instance* taken partly from Scripture, and partly from the Fathers, but all alike *of the Cherubims and the brazen Serpent quite foreign to his Purpose.* From Scripture he urges the Command given to *Moses* by God himself to make two Cherubims, or the Images of two Cherubims, over the Mercy-seat; and tho' those Images were not worshipped, nor so much as seen by the People, he concludes, that it is not only lawful for Christians to make Images, but to worship them. In like manner from God's commanding *Moses* to make the brazen Serpent, and set it up for a Sign, he concludes with an Exclamation, *O the Madness of those, who will not worship Images! the Images of our Saviour, of his Mother, of the Saints, by whose Virtue the World subsists, and Mankind are saved! shall we, who believe, that the Israelites were healed by beholding the brazen Serpent, doubt of our being saved by beholding and worshipping the Images of Christ and the Saints?* Had the Pope recollected that tho' the brazen Serpent was made by God's own Command, which can be said of none of his Images, and wrought far greater Miracles than the most miraculous of his Images, yet King *Hezekiah* broke it in Pieces, when he found the People worshipped it, and was said to have done therein *that which was right in the Sight of the Lord*<sup>c</sup>, his Holiness would have taken Care not to bring in or mention the brazen Serpent on this Occasion. But he was, it seems, better acquainted with the monkish Legends than he was with his Bible. However he alleges several

<sup>b</sup> Exod. 32. ver. 4. 1 Kings 12. ver. 28.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings 18. ver. 3, 4.

Year of  
Christ 784.

Passages out of the Bible to show that the Use of Images and the Worship are there approved and recommended; but to find out what Relation those Passages have either to the Use or the Worship of Images, or indeed to Images at all, is no easy Task; and I shall leave it to the Reader. The Passages are; *Honour and Majesty are in his Presence<sup>d</sup>; thy Face will I seeke; the Rich among the People shall entreat thy Face<sup>f</sup>; Lord lift up the Light of thy Countenance upon us<sup>g</sup>; in that Day there shall be an Altar to the Lord in the midst of the Land of Egypt, and a Pillar at the Border thereof to the Lord<sup>h</sup>; Honour and Majesty are before him; Strength and Beauty are in his Sanctuary<sup>i</sup>; Lord, I have loved the Habitation of thy House, and the Tabernacle of thy Honour<sup>k</sup>.* In all the New Testament the Pope could find but one single Passage, that he thought could any-ways authorize the Use and the Worship of Images, viz. that of St. Paul to the Hebrews, *by Faith Jacob, when he was a dying, blessed both the Sons of Joseph, and worshipped upon the Top of his Staff<sup>l</sup>.* This Passage the Pope, leaving out the Preposition upon, reads thus; *and worshipped the Top of his Staff.* That Staff he supposes to have been the Staff of his Son Joseph, and concludes, that as Jacob gave that Honour and Worship to the Staff of Joseph not for its own Sake, but for the Sake of him, who bore it; so may we honour and worship the Images of the Saints, not for their own Sake, but for the Sake of those, whom they represent. But the Meaning of the Apostle is obvious, and one would think that no Child, who can read, could mistake it, viz. that Jacob, being on his Death-bed, sat up leaning on the Top of his Staff to support his weak Body, while he blessed his Children, and worshipped.

The Passages  
he quotes  
from the Fa-  
thers either  
impertinent  
or corrupted.

As for the Fathers, I shall not trouble the Reader with the many Passages the Pope alleges out of their Writings in Support of his Cause, but only observe, 1. That tho' in the Beginning of his Letter he undertakes to show that Images had been both used and worshipped in the Church ever since the Apostles Times, yet for so ancient a Practice he quotes not a single Father, who lived before the fourth Century, but several, who flourished in the fifth, in the sixth, and some, who wrote even as late as the seventh. 2. That the Passages, he alleges out of the genuine Works of the Fathers, prove no more than that Images were used, from the latter End of the fourth

<sup>d</sup> Psal. 96. 6.  
<sup>e</sup> Isa. 19. 19.

<sup>f</sup> Psal. 27. 8.  
<sup>g</sup> Psal. 96. 6.

<sup>h</sup> Psal. 45. 12.  
<sup>i</sup> Psal. 26. 8.

<sup>k</sup> Psal. 4. 6.  
<sup>l</sup> Heb. 11. 21.

Century to the Beginning of the seventh, as mere Ornaments, as Helps to Memory, as Books for such as could not read. 3. That some of his Texts are strangely altered and corrupted, and some quoted from spurious Pieces. Among the spurious Pieces we may well reckon the Epistle of St. *Basil* to the Emperor *Julian*, wherein that Saint makes the Worship of Images an Article of his Creed, and inserts it next to *the Remission of Sins* in the following Words, *for the obtaining of which I honour, worship, and adore the Images of our Saviour, of the Virgin Mary, of the Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs agreeably to the Apostolic Tradition; and such a Practice ought not to be forbidden.* This is the only pertinent Text the Pope alleges; but the Piece, from which it is quoted, is now rejected by the Learned of all Persuasions as unquestionably spurious<sup>m</sup>. And this is all the Pope had to offer in Behalf of his Apostolic Tradition concerning the Use and the Worship of Images.

In the remaining Part of his Letter *Hadrian* loudly complains of the Promotion of *Tarasius* raised, in defiance of the sacred Laws and Canons of the Church, from a Layman to the Patriarchal Dignity, and appointed to teach what he himself had not yet learnt. He thinks it no less absurd and preposterous that a Layman should be trusted with the Care and the Direction of Souls, than that an Ecclesiastic, who had never borne Arms and was utterly unacquainted with the military Art, should be trusted with the Command of an Army. He nevertheless declares himself ready to acquiesce in the Election of the new Patriarch, however uncanonical, and to acknowledge him for his Fellow-Bishop, however unequal in other Respects to so great a Charge, provided he zealously concurred with his most pious and Catholic Sovereigns in promoting the Catholic Cause, in extirpating the Heresy, that had so long prevailed, and in restoring the sacred and venerable Images to the Honour and Worship, that had ever been paid them. Zeal for Images was the only Qualification required at this Time in a Bishop; and indeed the Bishops, who assisted at the Council, which we shall soon have Occasion to speak of, seem to have had no other. But if an unexperienced Layman is no more to be trusted with the Care of Souls than an unexperienced Ecclesiastic is to be trusted with the Command of an Army, Zeal for Images could no more qualify the Layman for the one, than it could the Ecclesiastic for the other. The Pope closes his Letter with entreating

<sup>m</sup> See Cave's Life of St. Basil, p. 222.



Year of  
Christ 784.

the Emperor and his most religious Mother *Irene*, as they rendered the Salvation of their Souls, to cause the Council, that had condemned the holy Images, to be condemned and anathematized, to defend and maintain the Primacy of the *Roman* Church, the Head of all Christian Churches; to oblige the Bishop of their Imperial City to quit the haughty and presumptuous Title of *Universal Patriarch*, and lastly to order the Patrimonies of *St. Peter*, which their Predecessors had seized, to be forthwith restored. A most shameless Demand in one, who possessed so many rich Cities and Provinces, of which his Predecessors had robbed the Emperors and the Empire<sup>n</sup>.

His Answer  
to the Patri-  
arch.

At the same Time the Pope answered the Letter he had received from the new Patriarch. The Direction was *Hadrian Bishop and Servant of the Servants of God to his beloved Brother the Patriarch Tarasius*. He freely tells him that he was grieved to hear of his Promotion, but that he is entirely satisfied with his Confession of Faith, wherein he receives the six General Councils, and promises to worship and to adore the holy Images; that nevertheless he dares not approve of his Consecration, as it is contrary to the known Laws of the Church, but upon Condition that he undertakes to restore the ancient Practice of the Catholic Church<sup>o</sup>.

Declines as-  
sisting at the  
Council.

*Constantine* and *Irene* had pressed the Pope, as we have seen, to repair in Person to *Constantinople*, and flattered themselves that his Zeal would have surmounted all Difficulties. But *Hadrian*, recollecting that he had employed all his Interest with *Charlemagne* to get the *Greeks* driven quite out of *Italy*; that the Emperors had not yet yielded, but still continued to claim as their own the Countries he possessed, and that they must consequently look upon him not only as an Enemy, but as an Usurper and Rebel, and might treat him accordingly, notwithstanding the Zeal they pretended for Images, he thought it adviseable not to put it in their Power, but to consult in

But sends Le-  
gates to it.

the first Place his own Safety. Excusing himself therefore, on account of his Age, from undertaking so long a Journey, he appointed *Peter* Archpriest of the *Roman* Church, and the Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Sabas*, named likewise *Peter*, to assist at the Council with the Character of his Legates in his Room; and by them he sent his Answer to the Letters of the Emperor and the Patriarch<sup>p</sup>.

\* Concil. Nic. 2. act. 2.  
Act. 2. Anast. in Præf. Concil.

• Concil. Nic. 2. ibid.

† Concil. Nic. 2.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

85

No Bishops from the West, besides the Pope, were invited to the Council either by the Empress or the Patriarch; and none assisted at it, besides the Pope, either in Person or by their Deputies. It there fore entirely consisted, tho' stiled œcumenical, of the Pope's Legates and the eastern Bishops; nay, and of such only of the eastern Bishops as were Subjects of the Empire, As for the three Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, and the Bishops under their Jurisdiction, *Tarasius*, it is true, wrote and sent Deputies to acquaint them with the Design of his most religious Sovereigns, of putting an End to the unhappy Divisions of the Church by a General Council, and invite them to it; but with what Success the Reader may learn from *Baronius*. The Deputies, says the Annalist, sent by *Tarasius* to the three Patriarchs being told, on their Arrival in *Palestine*, the Monks there, that *Theodore* of *Jerusalem* was dead; that the Christians were most cruelly persecuted in *Egypt* and in *Syria* by the new Caliph *Aaron*; that their Journey to *Alexandria* and *Antioch* would give great Jealousy to the *Saracens*, and in all likelihood prove fatal not only to them, but to all the Christians in those Parts, they laid aside all Thoughts of proceeding further. However to satisfy, in some degree, the Empress and the Patriarch, the Monks, assembling in the Desert, chose two of their Body *John* and *Thomas*, to represent the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* in the Council, and testify to the Fathers their orthodox Belief with respect to the Point in Dispute, the Worship of Images<sup>q</sup>. From this Account of *Baronius*, and it is entirely agreeable to what we read in *Theophanes* and all the other contemporary Writers, it is manifest, that none of the above-mentioned Patriarchs assisted at the Council either in Person or by their Deputies or Legates, the Patriarch of *Jerusalem* being then dead, and the Monks, who are said to have represented the other two, being sent by their Brethren the Monks, and not by the Patriarchs, who knew nothing of them or the Council. And yet these very Monks are stiled, throughout the Acts of the Council, the Legates of the Eastern Patriarchs; nay, and they had the Assurance to subscribe themselves the Legates of the three Apostolic Sees *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*; and their Subscriptions are commonly produced to show that the Patriarchs were all unanimous in defining the Lawfulness of Image-worship, and con-

Year of  
Christ 784.

No other Bishops from the West invited to it.

Three eastern Patriarchs not present either in Person or by their Deputies.

The Monks their pretended Deputies not sent by them.

<sup>q</sup> Baron. ad ann. 785. p. 383.

demning

Year of demning the Council, that had declared such a Worship unlawful,  
Christ 784. and idolatrous.

Nor autho-  
rized to act  
in their  
Name.

As the two Monks, says here *Maimburg* pretending to solve a Difficulty, which he thinks none had been able to solve before, as the two Monks *John* and *Thomas* were not sent by the Patriarchs, but by the Monks of *Palestine* without their Knowledge, some Writers have concluded, that the Patriarchs were no-ways concerned in the Council. But these Writers were not aware, that the Council did not meet till a Year and more after the Arrival of the Monks at *Constantinople*, and that the Patriarchs had Time enough, and might, during that Interval, have found Means to authorize the Monks to act in their Name, and to vest them with the necessary Powers for that Purpose: And that they did so is very certain<sup>r</sup>. And that they did not so is very certain; for by no other Means could the Patriarchs have impowered the Monks to act in their Name, but either by Letters; and the Letters would have been read in the Council, or by new Deputies; and they would have appeared in the Council. But it is very certain, that no Letters were read in the Council from the Patriarchs, that no Deputies from them appeared either at *Constantinople* or at *Nice*. It is certain at least, that no mention is made of either in the Acts of the Council, or by any of the contemporary Writers, not even by *Theophanes*, who was present, and has omitted nothing, that could any-ways redound to the Honour of an Assembly, which he has taken so much Pains to recommend to Posterity, and but too often at the Expence of Truth. Besides, the two Monks themselves declared in the Council, that they, *tho' ignorant Inhabitants of the Desert, tho' unexperienced, tho' Idiots*, had been chosen by their Brethren to testify the orthodox Belief of those, who dared not so much as to speak of such Matters, much less to receive or to write Letters concerning them<sup>s</sup>. An incontestable Proof that the Patriarchs neither did nor could authorize by Deputies or by Letters, the two Monks to act in their Name, during the Interval between their Arrival at *Constantinople* and the meeting of the Council. And thus has *Maimburg* solved a Difficulty, which no Man had been able to solve before him.

The Letter of  
the Monks of  
Palestine to  
Tarasius.

The two Monks brought with them a Letter from their Brethren in the Desert to *Tarasius*, wherein they recommend to his Holiness

<sup>r</sup> Maimb. Hist. Icon. l. 3. p. 422, 423.

<sup>s</sup> Concil. Nic. 2. act. 3.

their

their Deputies, who, they say, will inform him of the Orthodoxy of the Patriarchs; acquaint him with their having diverted his Legates <sup>Year of Christ 784.</sup> from pursuing their Journey to *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, since it was impossible for them to reach those Cities, and they would, by attempting it, not only expose their own Lives to imminent Danger, but the Lives of all the Christians in those Parts (U); entreat his Holiness to proceed undaunted in so pious and meritorious an Undertaking, that of restoring, by a General Council, the Use and the Worship of Images, notwithstanding the Absence of the three Patriarchs, which did not prevent the sixth Council, and would not prevent the seventh from being universally received as œcumenical. They conclude with declaring for the Use and the Worship of Images, as an apostolical Tradition, and protesting, that they receive only six General Councils, and condemn that, which was held under *Copronymus* against Images, and is by some stiled the Seventh. The Direction of the Letter was, *To our most holy and blessed Lord Tarasius, Archbishop of Constantinople and Universal Patriarch, the High Priests and other Priests in the East greeting.* They stile themselves *the High Priests, and the other Priests in the East*, personating therein the Patriarchs and the Bishops under their respective Jurisdictions. And truly *Baronius*, in exhibiting their Letter, stiles it in the Margin, *the Letter of the Patriarchs to Tarasius*<sup>v</sup>; and as such it was received, read and applauded in the Council, tho' it is said in the Letter itself, that the Patriarchs neither dared to write, nor to receive Letters, nor even to utter a single Word concerning such Subjects.

The Deputies of the Monks brought another Letter with them, *The Letter of* supposed to have been written by *Theodore of Jerusalem* to *Cosmas* <sup>the Patriarch of Jerusalem</sup> of *Alexandria*, and *Theodore of Antioch*, on occasion of his Promotion to the Episcopal Dignity. In that Letter *Theodore* in the first <sup>to the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch.</sup> Place professes to worship the Saints and their Images, to adore and embrace their saving Reliques, especially the Bones of the Martyrs,

\* Concil. Nic. 2. act. 3.

▼ Bar. ad ann. 785. p. 383.

(U) *Christianus Lupus*, one would think had never seen this Letter, tho' in the Acts of the Council, nor so much as heard of it. For he supposes the Legates of *Tarasius* to have got to the Patriarchs, and the two Monks to have been sent by the Patriarchs themselves as their Legates *alate*, and magnifies the Courage and Zeal of the Legates from *Constantinople* for venturing through a thousand Deaths to get to those Patriarchs (1), when it is said in the Letter itself, that it was impossible for them to get to them, and that they were diverted by the Monks from attempting it.

(1) Lup. not. in Canon. Concil. Sept. p. 1119.

Year of  
Christ 784.

ascribes to them, out of a spurious Piece fathered on *Athanasius*, the Power of working Miracles and curing all sorts of Diseases, but derives that Power from Christ, who, according to him, dwells in those Bones. 2. He acknowledges only six General Councils, and anathematizes that, which condemned Images, and by the Enemies of Images is called the seventh. 3. He taxes with Ignorance, and condemns as Heretics all, who pretend that Images are not to be worshipped because the Works of Mens Hands, since the Cherubims, the Ark, the Mercy-seat, tho' the Works of Mens Hands, were nevertheless worshipped, as he takes it for granted, by the *Israelites*<sup>w</sup>. This absurd Epistle is said to have been written by *Theodore* of *Jerusalem* to *Theodore* of *Antioch* and *Cosmas* of *Alexandria* upon his being promoted to the Patriarchal Dignity, and is therefore stiled a *Synodical Epistle*, that is, an Epistle written by a new Bishop, and in a full Synod, to his fellow Bishops. But *Theodore* was raised to the Patriarchal See of *Jerusalem* in 735<sup>x</sup>; and at that Time neither was *Theodore* Patriarch of *Antioch*, nor was *Cosmas* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, the former having been vested with that Dignity in 752, and the latter in 742<sup>y</sup>. The Letter therefore could not, as is evident, have been written to either of them, but was in all likelihood forged by the Monks, unacquainted with the State of those Churches, to impose on the Bishops of the Council, and persuade them, that the three Patriarchs (for they pretended to have the Answers of the two Patriarchs entirely agreeable to the Letter of *Theodore*) held and professed the Doctrine of Image-worship. But should we even allow these Letters to be genuine, it would not follow from thence that the said Doctrine was held by the present Patriarchs, whose Orthodoxy the Monks were sent to testify before the Council, but only that it had been held and professed by some of their Predecessors. For at this Time *Theodore* of *Jerusalem*, *Cosmas* of *Alexandria*, and *Theodore* of *Antioch* were all three dead, and their Sees, if not vacant, held by others. I say, *if not vacant*; for they are marked by *Theophanes* in his Chronological Tables as vacant at this Time. In the Acts of the Council *Theodore* of *Jerusalem*, the pretended Writer of the Letter, is said to have died lately<sup>z</sup>; but from History it ap-

A mere Forgery.

<sup>w</sup> Concil. Nic. 2. act. 3.

<sup>x</sup> See Pagi Critic. in Anna<sup>l</sup>. Bar. ad ann. 767.

<sup>y</sup> Theoph. ad ann. Const. 10. & Pagi ad ann. 751. 742.

<sup>z</sup> Concil. Nic. 2. act. 5.

pers, that he was dead 15 Years before, *Eusebius*, who succeeded him, being possessed of his See in the Year 770<sup>a</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 784.

The Bishops were required in the Summons, that was sent them, to repair with all Speed to *Constantinople*; and the Legates of the Pope as well as the pretended Legates of the three other Patriarchs arriving in that City about the latter End of *July* 786, the Council was appointed to meet for the first Time on the 17th of *August*, and the spacious *Basilic* of the holy Apostles was chosen for that Purpose. There they met at the Time appointed; and the Patriarch *Tarasius* having, according to Custom, opened the Sessions with an Harangue, of which I can give no Account, the Decree, forbidding a General Council to meet without the Consent of the Patriarchs, was ordered to be read. But in the mean Time the Emperor's Guards, who had served under *Constantine Copronymus*, and were all, the Officers as well as the private Men, most zealous Iconoclasts, hearing that the Council was met, not to examine, but to condemn the Faith of that Emperor, and with his Faith, his Council and Memory, flew to Arms, surrounded the Church, and crying out, that they would not suffer the Memory of so good and so religious a Prince to be thus dishonoured, nor the Idolatry to be brought back, which he had so happily banished, threatened the Patriarch and the other Bishops with immediate Death, if, desisting from so wicked a Purpose, they did not that Instant break up and disperse. The Empress, who was present with the Emperor, alarmed at so sudden a Tumult, which she had neither foreseen nor in the least apprehended, sent immediately some of the great Officers of the Crown, who attended her, to appease it. But the Soldiery, instead of obeying insulted them as Idolaters, as Enemies to God, to the Church, to the Empire. Hereupon *Irene*, observing the Consternation and Panic of the Bishops ready to vote, but not at all inclined to die for the Cause, and satisfied that the Soldiery, now joined by a great Number of Citizens, were not to be reclaimed, gave the Fathers Leave to retire and yield for the present; which they did very readily without being hurt, insulted, or any-ways molested by their furious and inhuman Enemies, as *Theophanes* is pleased to call them<sup>b</sup>. How different from this was the Treatment the Imperial Officers met with, and the Patriarch himself from the Worshipers of Images, even from the Women, when they first attempted to pull them down<sup>c</sup>?

The Council  
meets at Con-  
stantinople.

Year of  
Christ 786.

But obliged  
by the Sol-  
diery and Ci-  
tizens to  
break up.

<sup>a</sup> See Pagi ad ann. 767.

<sup>b</sup> Theoph. ad ann. Constant. 7.

<sup>c</sup> See vol. 3. p. 262.

Year of  
Christ 786.

Irene pursues  
her Design.

The Troops  
that opposed  
the Council  
disbanded.

The Assembly being thus dissolved, the eastern Bishops returned all to their respective Sees. The Pope's Legates too, not thinking themselves safe amidst the Iconoclast Soldiery, were for quitting *Constantinople*, and returning with all Haste to *Rome*. But the Empress with much ado persuaded them, and likewise the two Monks, who were to represent the eastern Patriarchs, to put off their Journey for a While, assuring them, that she wanted not the Means of checking the Insolence of the Soldiery, and bringing the Design she had formed jointly with the Patriarch, in spite of them, to a happy Issue. Accordingly with that View she appointed *Stauratius*, in whom she placed an entire Confidence, Governor of *Thrace*, and at the same Time gave him the Command of the oriental Legions quartered in that Province, charging him to render himself, by all means, acceptable to them, and having once gained their Affections, to dismiss such of the Soldiers and their Officers as he thought might oppose her Design, and appoint others in their Room, who would promote it, acting therein with great Prudence and Circumspection. In that Trust *Stauratius* acquitted himself so well, that he could, in little more than six Months Time, assure the Empress, that in the whole Corp there was not a single Man, who would not concur with her, and assist her, to the utmost of his Power, in the Execution of her Design. Upon this Intelligence the crafty Empress immediately gave out, that the *Saracens* had unexpectedly broken into *Asia*; that they committed there unheard-of Cruelties, and that the Emperor was determined to march against them without delay, in Person, and head his Army. Orders were accordingly issued for all the Troops to put themselves in Motion; the Emperor's Equipage was conveyed cross the Straits into *Bithynia*, and the Guards commanded to attend it, as it was their Duty, to the pretended Place of the general Rendezvous, whither they were told the Emperor would follow them with all possible Speed. But no sooner had they left the City than the oriental Legions entered it, on their March, as was supposed, into *Asia*. But they were stopt there by the Empress; and the Guards, upon their landing on the opposite Shore, received an Order, signed both by the Emperor and the Empress, acquainting them that they had no further Occasion for their Service, and commanding them to deliver up their Arms, and retire, on Pain of being treated as Rebels and Traitors, to their respective Homes. As they were quite destitute of Money as well as Provisions, and sensible that they could

## Hadrian. BISHOPS of Rome.

91

not withstand the whole Strength of the Empire, which they knew would be employed against them, they obeyed, delivered up their Arms, and disbanded: And *Irene*, not satisfied with thus getting rid of them, ordered their Wives and Children with all, who were any-ways related to, or connected with them, to quit the City forthwith, and retire to the Countries, where they were born<sup>d</sup>. These brave Veterans had served, and with great Reputation, under *Constantine Copronymus* as well as his Son *Leo* in all their Wars; and thus were their long and faithful Services in the End rewarded. But they, as true to God as to their Sovereigns, would worship God alone, would suffer no other Objects of Worship to be set up in his Room, and were therefore left in their old Age to starve, more worthy of a Place amongst Martyrs in the Kalendar, than any of the insolent Monks, who suffered for their Disobedience to the Law of God, and Laws of the Empire.

Year of  
Christ 786.

And now *Irene*, trusting in her new Guards, all zealous Friends to Images, and ready to concur with her in all her Measures, began to think of assembling the Council anew. But apprehending that their meeting in the Metropolis, where the *Iconoclast* Party was still very strong, might be attended with fresh Disturbances, she thought it advisable to transfer it to some other Place; and the Place, that appeared to her the most proper, as well as to the Patriarch, was the City of *Nice* in *Bithynia*. The Image-worshippers were there by far the stronger Party of the two, and sure to prevail, were any Opposition offered, by Blows, if Arguments failed them. Besides, the Empress flattered herself, that the very Name of *Nice*, a Name so famous in the Annals of the Church, might recommend a Council held there, and in some Degree prejudice People, at least the undistinguishing Multitude, in its Favour. Fresh Orders were therefore issued by *Tarasius*, and sent in the Name of the Emperor and the Empress to all Bishops requiring them to repair to *Nice*, and there pursue the great Work, which they had begun, but the Enemies of Truth had interrupted, at *Constantinople*. At the same Time Messengers were dispatched after the Legates of the Pope, who not thinking themselves safe at *Constantinople*, and suffering their Fear to get the better of their Zeal, had left that City to return to *Rome*. The Messengers overtook them in *Sicily*; and they, upon hearing that the mutinous Soldiery were disbanded and dispersed; that others

The Council  
meets at Nice.  
Year of  
Christ 787.

<sup>d</sup> Theoph. ibid. Concil. Nic. 2. act. 2.



Year of  
Christ 787.

were substituted in their Room, on whose Zeal and Protection they might entirely depend, and that the Council was to meet, not at *Constantinople*, but at *Nice*, where there was nothing to fear, consented to return. By the Time they reached *Constantinople* the Bishops had, pursuant to their Summons, all got to *Nice*; and thither *Tarasius*, who had waited for the Legates at *Constantinople*, repaired, soon after their Arrival, with them, with the great Officers of the Empire, who were to assist at the Council in the Emperor's Name, and the two Monks, who were to personate the three eastern Patriarchs, and had been entertained in the Imperial Palace ever since the Dissolution of the Council, and greatly caressed by the Emperess.

First Session.

All Things being now ready for the opening of the Council, the Fathers met for the first Time in the great Church of *St. Sophia* on the 24th of *September* of the present Year. At this Assembly were present, according to some, 350 Bishops, according to others 367, and 377; a Number sufficient to determine any Truth, were Truth to be determined by Numbers. The Council was opened with a short Speech by *Tarasius*, wherein he exhorted the holy Bishops, assembled in the Lord, not to examine the Points in Dispute with Care and Attention, and impartially decide them, but to exert themselves manfully against the late Heresy. Here *F. Pagi*, to prevent us from falling into a great Mistake, and concluding that *Tarasius* presided at the Council because he opened it, takes Care to inform us, that in Truth the Pope's Legates presided, but that as *Tarasius* was a Man of great Address, of consummate Experience in the Management of Affairs, and far better skilled than they in the *Greek* Tongue, they yielded to him the whole Management and Direction of the Council. Indeed that the Council was entirely managed and directed by *Tarasius* is very certain; and that he presided at it either alone, or jointly with the Legates of the Pope, and the pretended Legates of the eastern Patriarchs is no less certain. For the Patriarch *Photius*, in his Book of *the Seven General Councils*, says in express Terms, that the Direction and Presidency of this Council was given to *Tarasius*, to the Pope's Legates, and the Legates of the three other Patriarchse. What *Photius* writes is confirmed by the anonymous Author of the *Liber Synodicus*; for that Writer too names *Tarasius*, the Pope's Legates, and the two Monks, as all presiding at the Council<sup>f</sup>; and it is to be observed, that both these Writers name *Tarasius* in the first

Who pre-  
sided?

<sup>e</sup> Phot. de Sept. Synod. p. 57.

<sup>f</sup> Bibliothec. Jur. Canon. p. 1210.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

93

Year of  
Christ 787.

Place, and consequently as the first or chief President. To the Testimony of these two Writers I shall add the unexceptionable Testimony of *Tarasius* himself, who speaking, in the first Session, of the Tumult, that happened the preceding Year at *Constantinople*, tells the Fathers that it happened when they were already assembled, *while he presided, presidentibus nobis in venerabili templo, &c.* If he presided at *Constantinople*, it is not to be doubted but that he likewise presided at *Nice*, the Council of *Constantinople* and that of *Nice* being one and the same Council, only transferred from one Place to another. I might add, that he probably presided alone, it being quite improbable that had the Pope's Legates, and the two Monks shared that Honour with him, he would, by not mentioning them, have assumed it all to himself (W).

When *Tarasius* had ended his Speech, the Imperial Commission-<sup>The Em-</sup>ers *Petronius, John, and Nicephorus*, who had succeeded *Tarasius* <sup>peror's Letter</sup> in the Employment of first Secretary, and afterwards succeeded him <sup>read.</sup> in the Patriarchal Dignity, produced a Letter from *Constantine* and *Irene* to the Council, and desired it might be read; which was done accordingly. In that Letter they declared that they had assembled the present Council with the Approbation and Consent of all the Patriarchs, whereas of the five Patriarchs three knew nothing of it, as has been shown above; that the Resignation of the late Patriarch, and his death-bed Repentance because he had received the Council, that condemned Images<sup>b</sup>, having made a deep Impression on their Minds, they had thereupon resolved to recall the banished Faith, and with that View raised *Tarasius* to the Patriarchal Dignity, who had suggested to them the assembling of a General Council; as the most effectual Means of obtaining so desirable an End; that they had accordingly assembled a General Council from all Parts of the Globe *a toto terrarum orbe* (X); that it was incumbent upon them, now

\* See above, p. 85.

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 72.

(W) *Du Pin* in his Account of this Council says in one Place, that the Legates of the Pope were placed the first, and *Tarasius* next to them; and in another, that the Legates of *Hadrian* did not think it advisable that certain Articles of his Holiness's Letter should be read in a Council, at which *Tarasius* presided (1).

(X) At this Council assembled from all

Parts of the Globe not one Person assisted; besides the Legates of the Pope, from *Italy, France, Germany, Spain, Britain, or Africa*; nay not one, except the two Monks and the Pope's Legates, who was not a Subject of the Empire; and the Empire was confined, at this Time, within very narrow Bounds, and but a very small Portion of the Globe.

(1) *Du Pin* Biblioth. Eccles. t. 6. p. 138, 139.

they

Year of  
Christ 787.

they were assembled, to cut off all Errors and Novelties in the Practice and Faith of the Church, as the Prince of the Apostles cut off the Ear of the perfidious *Jew*; to root out and condemn to Hell-fire every Tree bearing Fruit of Contention, and thus put an End to the unhappy Disputes, that had so long rent into Parties and Factions both the Church and the Empire. The Letter was received by the whole Assembly with loud Acclamations, with repeated Wishes of long Life and Prosperity to their most religious Sovereigns, who deserved so well of the orthodox Faith, of the Catholic Church, of all true Christians.

Some Bishops  
abjure their  
former Doc-  
trine.

In the next Place several Bishops, *viz. Basilus of Ancyra, Theodorus of Myra, Theodosius of Ammorium*, and others, who had condemned Images, or received the Council, that condemned them, presented themselves to the Fathers, begging they might be allowed to abjure that *Heresy* and take their Place in the Council. For in this mock Council none were allowed to sit, who had ever condemned Images, till they had solemnly abjured that Opinion as a *Heresy*: Which was declaring it *Heresy* not to worship Images, when they had not yet examined whether it was *Heresy* or not, nor heard a single Argument or Reason for or against that Opinion. The Fathers readily complied with the Request of the penitent Bishops; and *Basilus of Ancyra* abjured his Opinion the first in the following Words: *I admit the Intercession of our immaculate Lady the Mother of God, of the holy Angels, of all Saints, and beg them to intercede for me; I receive with all Honour, salute, and honourably honour, honorabiliter honoro, their holy and precious Reliques, believing I shall thus partake of their Holiness. I likewise salute, honour, and embrace the venerable Images of our Saviour, of the Virgin Mary, of the Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs, and of all the Saints. I condemn, abhor, and most sincerely renounce the false, wicked and abominable Synod, that condemned Images, and caused them to be taken down and cast out of the Churches. I most sincerely anathematize all, who break Images; who apply to the venerable Images what is said in Scripture against Idols; who call them Idols, or say that we approach them as Gods, who reject the Doctrine of the Fathers, and the Tradition of the Church, saying with Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches and Dioscorus, that they receive no Doctrine but what they find in the Old or New Testament. Ba-*

Concil. Nic. 2. act. 1.

*silus*

*silius* ended his Retraction, and his anathemas with one against himself, if he ever willingly or unwillingly renounced or impugned the Doctrine, which he now professed<sup>k</sup>. The Retraction of *Theodorus* of *Myra* and *Theodosius* of *Ammorium* differed but very little from that of *Basilius*; only *Theodosius* declared that he received, embraced, and *adored* the holy and *adorable* Images; that he received, embraced and *adored* the Reliques of Saints, and anathematized all, who did not teach and inculcate the Doctrine of Image-worship. The Retraction of these three Bishops was received with great Applause by the Fathers, and as it was by all judged sincere, they were allowed to sit with the rest in the Council. Seven Bishops more presented themselves in order to recant, and be thereupon admitted into the Council. But as they had distinguished themselves by their Zeal against Images, and were supposed to have been the Authors of the Disturbances, that obliged the Council to break up the preceding Year at *Constantinople*, the Fathers were divided in their Opinions with respect to them, some being for degrading them, others for receiving them by a new Imposition of Hands, and some for admitting them into the Council, without any other Ceremony, upon their owning themselves Heretics, and renouncing their former wicked Sentiments with respect to Images as a Heresy: And this Opinion prevailed in the End; but their Abjuration and Reception were put off to the next Session. Thus by this very numerous, very wise, very holy, very learned Council, as *Baronius*, *Maimburg*, *Natalis* stile it, was it declared a wicked Heresy, and abjured as a wicked Heresy, not to worship Images, when they had not yet examined, nor begun to examine whether it was a Heresy, or not. But *Irene* was bent upon having the holy Images restored; *Tarasius*, tho' a Layman, had been raised by her to the Patriarchal Dignity, because a zealous Friend to the holy Images; the Pope, offended at the uncanonical Election and Ordination of a Layman, had declared, that he approved of his Election only upon Condition that he got the holy Images restored; so that the holy Images were to be restored at all Events: And the most effectual Means of obtaining that End was to declare at once all Enemies to Images Heretics, and by excluding them from the Council till they had abjured their wicked Heresy, prevent all dangerous Inquiries, Debates, and Opposition.

Year of  
Christ 787.

And are allowed to sit in  
the Council.

\* Confil. Nic. ibid.

Year of  
Christ 787.  
Second Ses-  
sion.  
Gregory of  
Neocæsarea  
recants.

Hadrian's  
Letter read.

Third Session.  
Gregory ad-  
mitted to the  
Council.

The Letter of  
Tarasius to  
the eastern  
Patriarchs,  
and theirs to  
him read.

In the second Session, held two Days after the first, that is, on the 26th of *September*, *Gregory*, Bishop of *Neocæsarea* was introduced by the Imperial Commissioners in order to abjure his Heresy, and take his Place in the Council. He made his Abjuration accordingly, protesting, that he received, honoured and adored the venerable Images, and unfeignedly repented as a most wicked Action his having ever opposed them. However as he had been of all the Iconoclasts the most active in pulling them down and breaking them, and besides was said to have cruelly persecuted all under his Jurisdiction, who favoured, or were suspected to favour that Cause, his Reception was put off till his Case should be further considered, and he ordered to present, in the next Session, a Confession of his Faith written and signed by himself. *Gregory* being dismissed, *Hadrian's* Letter in Answer to the Emperor's was read, approved and received with all the Misinterpretations of Scripture, all the false or impertinent Allegations from the Fathers, and the legendary Tales it contained<sup>1</sup>. His Letter to *Tarasius* was likewise read and approved. And thus ended the second Session.

The Council met again on the 29th of *September*, when *Gregory* of *Neocæsarea*, having presented a Confession of his new Faith, was, after repeated Submissions and Protestations, confirmed in his Dignity, and allowed, with the seven Bishops mentioned above, all, no doubt, sincere Converts to the Worship of Images, to take his Place in the Council. In the next Place was read the Letter of *Tarasius* to the eastern Patriarchs<sup>m</sup>, the Answer of the Monks of *Palestine* to that Letter, which passed in the Council for the Answer of the Patriarchs themselves<sup>n</sup>, and the supposed Letter of *Theodore* of *Jerusalem* to the two Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*<sup>o</sup>.

These Letters were approved by all, and received as containing the true Catholic, Orthodox, and Apostolic Faith; and Anathemas were thereupon thundered by the Pope's Legates, in the Name of the 318 Bishops, who had formerly met in the same Place, that is, in the Name of the 318 Bishops of the first Council of *Nice*, against all, who did not profess the same Doctrine, and did not agree with the most holy Pope *Hadrian*, with the holy Patriarch of *New Rome*, and the other holy Patriarchs in the Adoration of Images. The Anathemas, thundered by the Legates, were approved and confirmed

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 79.  
<sup>o</sup> See above, p. 87.

<sup>m</sup> See above, p. 78.

<sup>n</sup> See above, p. 86.

with

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

97

with loud and repeated Acclamations by all, who were present, and Thanks returned to the Almighty for thus uniting the East and the West, the South and the North in one Council and one Faith, when the eastern Patriarchs knew nothing of the Council, as has been shewn, and the western Bishops condemned it as soon as they heard of it, as will be shown hereafter.

And now that the good Fathers had obliged several Bishops, who had opposed the Worship of Images as unlawful, to abjure that Opinion as a wicked Heresy, and had anathematized all, who held it, as Heretics, it was high Time for them to examine whether it was a Heresy or not, since they pretended to have met for that Purpose, or, at least, to prove that it was. And this they attempted in the two following Sessions, but with what Success I shall leave the Reader to judge. As the Iconoclasts urged the Scripture and the divine Prohibition *thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Images, &c.* against the Use as well as the Worship of Images, in the fourth Session, held on the first of *October*, *Tarasius* undertook to prove from Scripture the Lawfulness of the one and the other. But the only Passages he alleged were those, in which mention is made of the Cherubims shadowing the Mercy-seat; and from them he argued, if Cherubims, shadowing the Mercy-seat, were allowed under the Law, may not we have the Images of Christ, of his holy Mother, of the Saints and the Martyrs shadowing our Altars under the Dispensation of the Gospel? This stale Argument, if it deserves the Name of an Argument, had been a thousand Times answered by the Iconoclasts: They had shown, as often as it was urged against them, a wide Difference between the Cherubims and the Images they opposed, *viz.* that the Cherubims were made by God's express Command, which could be said of no Images of our Saviour or the Saints; that the Cherubims were not worshipped, and therefore could not be alleged to authorize the worshipping of Images; that they were not even seen by the People, but kept concealed from their Sight in the Holy of Holies, and therefore could not so much as authorize the Use of Images in the Places of Worship, the Holy of Holies, where they were kept, being no Place of Worship, since none were allowed to worship there, nay nor to look into the Place. *John*, the pretended Vicar of the eastern Patriarchs, added, that *Jacob* set up a Pillar, and that he

p See above, p. 85.

q Num. c. 7. ver. 8, 9. Exod. c. 25. ver. 17, 18.

Ezek. c. 41. ver. 18, 19. Heb. c. 9. ver. 5.

Vol. 3. p. 276. note F.

Year of  
Christ 787.

And by the  
pretended Vi-  
car of the  
eastern Pa-  
triarchs.

Passages of  
Scripture  
strangely  
misinterpret-  
ed.

wrestled with an Angel in the Form of a Man, concluding from thence that Christians may set up Images, as if there were no Difference between a Pillar and an Image, and may likewise paint Angels in the Form of Men; which was altogether foreign to the Purpose, the Iconoclasts not thinking it unlawful to paint Angels and Saints, but only to worship either them or their Pictures. The same Monk observed that the Agreement between *Hadrian* and *Tarasius*, between the *Roman* Church and the Empress *Irene* in the present Dispute about Images, had been foreseen by King *David*, and foretold in the following Words, *Mercy and Truth*, that is *Hadrian* and *Tarasius*, are met together, *Righteousness and Peace*, that is, the *Roman* Church and *Irene*, whose Name in *Greek* imports Peace, have kissed each others. The other Texts they allege from Scripture are no less foreign than these, that is altogether foreign, to their Purpose, viz. *Nathan bowed himself to the King with his Face to the Ground*<sup>t</sup>. *Abraham bowed himself to the People of the Land, even to the Children of Heth*<sup>u</sup>; *show me thy Face*<sup>v</sup>, *thy Face will I seek*<sup>x</sup>. From the two first Passages they argue; if it is lawful to bow to Men, it cannot be unlawful to bow to Images, to the holy and venerable Images of our Saviour, of his blessed Mother, &c.; that is in other Words, if we may lawfully bow down to Men to honour them, we may lawfully bow down to Images to worship them; which is arguing from civil Honour to religious Worship; from the civil Honour we give, and are no-where forbidden in Scripture to give to Men, to the religious Worship, which in many Places of Scripture we are expressly forbidden to give to Images. Had *Nathan* bowed to *David* to worship him, or *Abraham* to the Children of *Heth* to worship them, both had been guilty of Idolatry. As bowing is lawful when only a Mark of civil Honour, Respect or Esteem; so is kissing when only a Mark of Friendship and Kindness; and as the one is unlawful when an Act of religious Worship, so is the other: Of this Distinction, however obvious, the learned Fathers of the Council were not aware, else they had not concluded from its being lawful for Parents to kiss their Children and the Images of their Children, and for Children to kiss their Parents and the Images of their Parents, that it was, in like manner, lawful for Christians to kiss the Images of their Saviour and his Mother. This Argument

<sup>s</sup> Psal. 85. ver. 20.  
<sup>w</sup> Canticl.

<sup>t</sup> 1 Kings c. 1. ver. 23.  
<sup>z</sup> Psal. 27. ver. 8.

<sup>u</sup> Gen. c. 23. ver. 7.

they frequently urge in the present and following Sessions; and *Leontius*, one of the Bishops of the Council, thought it of such Force <sup>Year of Christ 787.</sup> that starting up when he first heard it, *now tell me*, said he insulting the Iconoclasts and improving the Argument, *tell me, thou, who thinkest nothing, that is made with Hands, nothing that is created, is to be adored; shalt thou kiss thy wicked Wife, and may not I kiss the Image of the blessed Virgin?* The Iconoclast, whom he thus addresses, did not, I suppose, worship his Wife when he kissed her, nor kiss her by way of Worship. But to kiss an Image is to worship it according to this very Council, kissing being reckoned by them, as well as bowing, amongst the Acts of Worship due to Images. As to the other two Texts of Scripture quoted above, by the Word *Face* in those Texts, and where-ever else it occurs in Scripture, the Council most impertinently understands the Image of Christ; so that according to them *show me thy Face* is as much as to say show me thy Image; *thy Face will I seek*, thy Image will I seek; *the Rich shall entreat thy Face*, or *pray before thy Face*, the Rich shall entreat thy Image, or pray before thy Image. And these are the only Passages 350 Bishops could find in Holy Writ to satisfy the World, that it is not only lawful to use Images, but to bow down to them, and worship them, notwithstanding the divine Prohibition, *thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.*

Their obliging, in the very Beginning of the first Session, *Basilius* <sup>They themselves sensible that their Doctrine was not to be proved from Scripture.</sup> of *Ancyra* to anathematize all, who should say they received no Doctrine but what was taught in the Old or New Testament, plainly shows that they were themselves sensible the Doctrine, which they wanted to define, was taught in neither, and that it was not so much to prove their Doctrine from Scripture that they alleged the few Passages quoted above, as that they might not be thought to own, as they would had they produced none, that it could not be proved from Scripture. When Arguments from Scripture were urged against them by their Adversaries, their common Answer was, that all Heretics and Patrons of Heresy have ever founded their Heresy on the holy Scriptures, alleging such Passages from thence as are capable of staggering or misleading the Unwary and the Ignorant. But we must except the Patrons of Image-worship, and do them the Justice of clearing them from that Imputation, not one Passage being alleged by them capable of misleading, or staggering in the least even the most ignorant.



Year of  
Christ 787.  
Testimonies  
from the Fa-  
thers.

No Fathers  
quoted of the  
three first  
Centuries.

The Scripture being soon laid aside, the voluminous Works of the Fathers were brought in; and of Testimonies from them the good Bishops were as prodigal as they had been sparing of Testimonies from Scripture. To examine them all would be an useless as well as a troublesome Task; and therefore I shall only observe here, 1. That not one Father or Christian Writer of the three first Centuries was quoted by the Council to witness their apostolical Tradition, or a Tradition, that came, as they boasted, from the preaching of the Apostles. *Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius, Asterius* and *Basil* flourished in the fourth Century; *Cyril of Alexandria, Antipater of Bostra* and *Nilus the Monk* in the fifth; *Leontius the Monk, Joannes Jejunator* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Simeon Stylites* in the sixth; *Sophronius of Jerusalem, Anastasius the Monk, Anastasius* Patriarch of *Antioch*, and *Leontius Cyprius* in the seventh; *Germanus of Constantinople, Damascene*, the two Popes *Gregory II. and III.* in the eighth. And these, tho' the earliest among them lived near 300 Years after the Apostles, are the only Evidences they brought in to witness their apostolical Tradition, or a Tradition, that had obtained in the Church ever since the Times of the Apostles. Their not quoting any of the Fathers of the three first Centuries is a plain Proof, they could find nothing in them that seemed in the least to favour their Opinion, or could be so misinterpreted as to favour it; and they had, as was observed by the Author of the *Caroline Books*, a particular Talent at misinterpreting, mangling and corrupting Authors to make them say what they thought they should have said. As they could therefore find nothing in the Writings of the Apostles, of their immediate Successors, or of those, who succeeded them for the first 300 Years of the Christian Religion, that favoured in the least the Doctrine of Image-worship, they would have argued very absurdly in concluding that Doctrine to have been taught by the Apostles, even tho' the Fathers of the 4th and the following Centuries; that is, the Fathers, whom they quote, had all taught it to a Man.

But that none of them taught it, excepting those of the 8th Century, when that Superstition first began to obtain; that in the very Passages quoted out of the Fathers there is not so much as a distant Hint of any Worship given to Images by those Fathers or by any in their Time, will undeniably appear to every Reader, who can prevail upon himself to peruse the tedious Acts of this Council. All they

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

101

say is, that Pictures are pious Representations; that they were pleased and affected with the Sight of them; that they wept in beholding the Picture of Christ's Passion; that the Painters, who drew such Pieces, were piously employed; that they represent to us the Battles of the Martyrs, put us in mind of them, and stir us up to tread in their Footsteps; that the Walls of Churches should rather be painted with Histories of the Old and New Testament than with Horses, Dogs and Hares; that all Creatures have a natural Reverence for Man because he is the Image of God. No Protestant, however zealous for the Purity of the Christian Worship, could, I believe, scruple to subscribe these Propositions; and yet the Fathers of the Council, putting, as they frequently do, more in the Consequence than was in the Premises, conclude from them that Images are to be worshipped. *Gregory Nazianzen*, it is true, speaking of an Image bestowed on it, as the Council observes, the Epithet of venerable. But unluckily the Image, on which he bestowed that Epithet, was not the Image of our Saviour, of the Virgin *Mary*, of any Martyr or Saint, but of *Polemon* a Pagan; whence it evidently follows, that by the Word *venerable Gregory* either did not mean *worthy of Veneration and Worship*, or if he did, that he thought the Image of a Pagan worthy of Veneration and Worship.

But *Maximus*, say they, in the Account he gives of an Agreement between him and *Theodosius*, tells us that the Book of the Gospels, the Cross, and the Images of our Saviour, and his Mother being brought in, they both laid their Hands on them, and kissed them to confirm the Agreement they had made: And *whatever we kiss, that we adore*. But *Maximus* lived in the 7th Century, in 660 according to *Bellarmino* 1, and therefore is no good Evidence for a Tradition pretended to be derived from the Apostles. Besides, *kissing* and *adoring* are with all, but the Bishops of this Council, two very different Things; and those, who utterly deny that any Adoration is due to the Gospels, yet when they take a solemn Oath kiss without Scruple the Book. The Passage they quote from *Leontius* of *Cyprus* is the most favourable of all to their Cause. But he too lived as late as the 7th Century 2, is an obscure Author, and some think that the Work, they quote and ascribe to him, was never heard of before the Time of this Council. To conclude, all that can be gathered from the Passages of the Fathers quoted in the Council is, that Images

Year of  
Christ 787.

Passages  
from the Fa-  
thers of the  
subsequent  
Centuries  
only prove the  
Use of Images  
lawful.

1 Bellar. de Script. Eccles. p. 113.

2 Idem ibid. p. 111.

were

Year of  
Christ 787.

were used in the 4th and the following Centuries, and that in the Opinion of those Fathers some Advantages attended the Use of them. This is evidently the most that can be gathered from the Passages they quoted: And yet *Tarasus* and the Legates of the Pope satisfied, or pretending to be satisfied, it had been made undeniably to appear from the Writings of the Fathers, that not only the Use but the Worship of Images had obtained in the Catholic Church ever since the Times of the Apostles. Anathemas were thundered by the whole Assembly against all, who should say that to worship Images was an Innovation, or was not grounded on an uninterrupted Tradition (tho' they had not quoted a single Father of the three first Centuries) from the earliest Ages of the Christian Religion to the present.

No Proof  
from the  
Councils for  
the Worship  
of Images.

When they had done with the Fathers the Councils were brought in, which they boasted were all on their Side, but nevertheless contented themselves with only alleging the 82d Canon of the *Quinisext* Council, allowing Christ, who to the Time of that Council had been painted in the Figure of a Lamb, to be thenceforth represented in the Form of a Man. But the *Quinisext* Council was held in the latter End of the 7th Century, in 691, and consequently too late to evidence an apostolical Tradition. Besides, by that Canon Christ was allowed to be represented in his Humanity, but no kind of Worship was there allowed to be given, or said to be due to that Representation; nay, the very Canon they quote shows, that so late as the End of the 7th Century even the representing of Christ in his Humanity, or in the Form of a Man, was a new Thing, or what had never before been allowed. As for the preceding Councils, it was owned by Pope *Gregory II.* that there was nothing more in them of Images than of eating and drinking<sup>a</sup>, and by the great Patron of Images *Germanus of Constantinople*, that the worshipping them was a Point, which the preceding Councils had all left undiscussed and undetermined: And truly of Images not the least mention is made in any of the General Councils, except the *Quinisext*, nor indeed in any other whatever, except that of *Eliberis*, which condemned even the Use of Images in all Places of Worship<sup>b</sup>. But the Worship of Images, say the learned Prelates, was not forbidden in any of those Councils. Neither was the Worship of the Pagan Deities, or even of the Devil, forbidden in any of those Councils; and are we to conclude from thence, that they approved of our worshipping

<sup>a</sup> See vol. 3. p. 284.

<sup>b</sup> See vol. 3. p. 225.

them?

them? The Reason, why none of them forbad the Worship of Images is obvious; Images had not begun to be worshipped in the Time even of the latest of those Councils, as has been demonstrated elsewhere<sup>c</sup>; and they could not forbid what was not yet practised. A Heresy must be broached before it can be condemned, and a Practice introduced before it can be forbidden.

In the last Place were brought in *the Lives of the Saints*, with Heaps of Monkish Legends to corroborate the Testimonies alleged from the Scripture, the Fathers, and the Councils, and out of those fabulous Pieces were read Miracles without Number said to have been wrought by Images. The Story of our Saviour's Image crucified at *Berytus* by the *Jews* was believed by the good Fathers, and when it was read drew Tears from the Eyes of the whole Assembly. Of this ridiculous Tale I have spoken elsewhere<sup>d</sup>, but cannot help taking Notice here of the surprising Ignorance or Stupidity of these good Fathers. On the one Hand they suppose the Miracle wrought by that Image, *viz.* the Conversion of the *Jews* upon their seeing Blood issue from it, to have been wrought at this Time, or not long before the Council, and call it *a new Miracle, a Miracle wrought just now<sup>e</sup>*. On the other Hand they will have it to have been related, by St. *Athanasius*, who died 300 Years before the Council, and father upon him the Piece, out of which it was read. The Image of our Saviour, supposed to have been sent by our Saviour himself to *Abgarus* King of *Edeffa*<sup>f</sup>, was not forgotten on this Occasion: And the miraculous Deliverance of that City by means of such a *Paladium*, when *Chosroes* besieged it, was read as it is related by *Evagrius*<sup>g</sup>, and applauded by the whole Assembly as an unquestionable Truth, tho' of the supposed miraculous Deliverance not the least mention is made by *Procopius*, who lived in those Days, and has related all the remarkable Events of that War, nor by any other Writer whatever. The Image indeed was extant in the Time of the Council; for *Leo*, Reader of the Church of *Constantinople*, assured the Fathers that he had been at *Edeffa*, and had seen it there *honoured and worshipped by the Faithful*. But it was not extant in the Time of *Eusebius*, who was at *Edeffa* 300 Years before, and there saw the pretended Letters from *Abgarus* to our Saviour, and from our Sa-

Year of  
Christ 787.

Fabulous Legends quoted  
and incredible Stories.

The Images of  
Berytus and  
Edeffa.

<sup>c</sup> See vol. 3. p. 202, & seq.  
§ See vol. 4. p. 231.

<sup>d</sup> See vol. 3. p. 204. note B.

<sup>e</sup> See vol. 3. p. 203. note A.

<sup>f</sup> Con. Nic.

<sup>g</sup> Evagr. l. 4. c. 27.

Year of  
Christ 787.

viour to *Abgarus*<sup>b</sup>; but not the Image, else he would have mentioned the Image as well as the Letters; nay it is evident from his thinking it unlawful to paint Christ, as we have shown he did<sup>i</sup>, that he either never had heard of that Image, or that he looked upon all, that was said of it, as a mere Fable. I should quite tire the Reader were I to relate the many absurd, childish, and ridiculous Tales, the many Dreams of old Monks, and old Womens Stories, that were read out of obscure and fabulous Writers, or gravely told by some of the Bishops of this venerable Assembly to convince the Iconoclasts, that Images had ever been worshipped in the Catholic Church, and that God had, by stupendous Miracles, approved of that Worship. To some of them however I must allow a Place here, that from them the Reader may judge of the rest, as well as of the Sense, Wisdom, Penetration and Learning of those, who not only were not ashamed to relate such idle and incredible Stories, or hear them related in such an Assembly, but grounded chiefly upon them a Definition of Faith.

*The Story of  
a Monk  
haunted with  
the Spirit of  
Fornication.*

Out of the *Pratum Spirituale*, a Book only fit for the Entertainment of Children, was read the following Story. An old Monk, who had been haunted with the Spirit of Fornication ever since his Youth, finding the unclean Spirit continued to assault him, without Intermission, even in his old Age, began to lament his hard Fate, and addressing the Devil, *how long, said he, wilt thou plague and torment me? Depart from me now; thou hast been with me even to old Age.* Hereupon the Devil appearing to him said, *swear to me that thou wilt tell no Man what I shall say to thee, and I will assault thee no more.* The Monk swore as the Devil directed him, and thereupon the Devil, satisfied he should compass his End, the Damnation of the old Monk, more effectually by diverting him from the Worship of Images, than by tempting him to Uncleaness, said to him, *worship no more this Image, the Image of the Virgin Mary with her Son in her Arms, and I will tempt thee no more.* The Monk desired Time to consider of it, and discovered the next Day to the Abbot *Theodore*, notwithstanding the Oath he had taken, all that had passed between him and the Devil. The Abbot commended him for breaking his Oath, and at the same Time assured him, that *he had better go into all the Stews in the City than forbear wor-*

<sup>b</sup> See vol. 3. ubi supra.

<sup>i</sup> See vol. 3. p. 231. note F.

*shipping*

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

105

*shipping Christ and his Mother in their Images* (Z); that is, if he could not redeem himself from the Temptation by any other Means but by either renouncing the Worship of an Image, or satisfying his Lust with all the Harlots in Town, he ought to let loose the Reins to his Lust. The Answer of the Abbot, that would have raised the Indignation of any other Christian Assembly, and would have been rejected with the utmost Abhorrence as uttered by the Devil of Fornication himself in the Disguise of an Abbot, was received by the Council, by a Council of 350 or 370 Bishops with general Applause; nay, the Assembly was so well pleased with the whole Story, that they ordered it to be read again in the following Session.

Out of the same Book were read two other Tales, and both approved and applauded by the Council. *John* the Anchorer, a very great Man, as he is called, lived in a Cave at *Sochas* in *Palestine*, where he had an Image of the Virgin *Mary* with Christ in her Arms. Before that Image the holy Anchorer kept a Candle constantly burning; and when his Devotion prompted him, as it frequently did, to undertake a Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, to Mount *Sinai*, or to any other more distant Sanctuary, he used to commit the Care of his Candle to the Virgin *Mary*, charging her not to let it go out, lest she and her Son should be left in the dark. The Virgin acquitted herself of her Trust with great Fidelity; for tho' the holy Man was absent sometimes two, sometimes four, and sometimes six Months, he found the Candle burning, and not wasted in the least, at his Return. The other Story was of a Woman, who having dug a deep Pit to find Water, and finding none, was ordered in her Sleep to lay the Image of the Abbot *Theodosius* at the Bottom of the Pit; which she did, and the Pit immediately filled with most excellent Water. Of this Miracle the Fathers thought no Man could doubt but a *Mahometan* or a *Jew*, since the Person, who relates it, saw the Well, and drank of the Water. The true Criterion, or Mark of Distinction between true and false Miracles is, according to St. *Irenæus*<sup>k</sup>, that true Miracles are done for the Benefit of Mankind. And what mighty Benefit was it to Mankind that a Pit should be filled with Water for the

Year of  
Christ 787.

Other Tales  
no less absurd  
and ridiculous.

<sup>k</sup> Iren. advers. hæres. 11. 56.

(Z) *Expedit autem tibi potius ut non dimittas in civitate ista Lupanar, in quod non nostrum Jesum Christum cum propria matre in sua imagine, were the Words of the* Abbots (1).

(1) Concil. Nic. 2. p. 269.

Year of  
Christ 787.

One of the  
Bishops of the  
Council miracu-  
lously cured  
by an Image.

Convenience of a silly Woman, or that a Candle should be kept constantly burning to light no body?

When these and many other no less absurd, ridiculous and incredible Stories were read out of the different Legends the Bishops had called for, a Monk, named *Stephen*, acquainted the Council that he could produce 15 Volumes more, all upon Images, and all filled with Miracles wrought by Images to confound the Iconoclasts, and confirm the Catholic Doctrine. But *Tarasius*, perceiving the Fathers grew tired, and well they might, answered the Monk, that the Catholic Doctrine wanted no further Confirmation. However *Manzus*, one of the Bishops of the Council, rising up begged Leave to add to the many Miracles wrought by Images in others one wrought in himself, and told them, that he was cured of a very dangerous Disease by laying an Image of our Saviour on the Part affected. And yet *Tarasius* had owned in this very Session, that no Miracles were wrought by Images in their Days, because Miracles were Signs for Unbelievers, and not for Believers. This Session ended with a solemn Declaration made by the whole Council, that they honoured, worshipped and adored the holy and venerable Images. Let no Man be offended, said *Tarasius*, at the Word *Adoration* or *Worship*, or urge against it the Command quoted by our Saviour, *thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*: For in that Command the Word *only* is applied to Service and not to Worship; and therefore tho' we may not serve Images, yet we may worship them. Had the Devil understood the Scripture as well as *Tarasius* he might have answered our Saviour, by the Command, *thou shalt worship*, &c. you are not required to worship but to serve God only, and therefore may, without transgressing it, fall down and worship me. The Distinction between Service and Worship was received by the Council with an uncommon and general Applause, the Bishops all crying out aloud, *we worship Images, but do not serve them, we may worship Images tho' we may not serve them*, as if they never had heard of the divine Prohibition, *thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Image; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them*. They closed the Session with a Peal of Anathemas against all in general, who did not salute, honour, worship and adore the holy and venerable Images, and against the Emperor *Leo* in particular, his Son *Copronymus*, and the impious Assembly of judaizing Bishops convened by

Hadrian. BISHOPS of Rome.

107

by the latter for the Destruction of Images, and the Exaltation of the Kingdom of *Satan*. Year of Christ 787.

The fifth Session, held on the 4th of *October*, was opened by *Tarasius* with a Declamation, or rather Invektive, wherein the Iconoclasts were compared to the *Jews, Samaritans, Pagans, Mahometans, Manichees, &c.* when he had done, they were declared by the whole Assembly worse than *Jews, Samaritans, or Mahometans, &c.* because they destroyed Images ignorantly being Strangers to Christianity; whereas the Iconoclasts *knew the Will of their Lord*. Here they should have shewn where the Will of their Lord, that Images should be set up, and should be worshipped, was revealed to them. In the Old Testament to set up Images, or worship them, is expressly forbidden, and that Prohibition is no-where revoked in the New Testament. The Iconoclasts therefore thought, and had Reason to think so, that it was the Will of their Lord they should destroy them, at least when they began to be worshipped, as good King *Hazekiah* was commended in Scripture for destroying the brazen Serpent, tho' made by God's own Command, when it began to be worshipped<sup>1</sup>.

In the next Place was read a Sermon of *John Bishop of Thessalonica*, containing an Account of a Conference between a Pagan and a Saint, that is a Worshipper of Images. The Pagan is there introduced speaking thus: Do not you Christians paint, in your Churches, the Images of your Saints, nay of your God, and worship them? And why may not we too paint the Images of our Gods and worship them? We do not take our Images to be Gods, nor do we worship them as Gods, but in them and by them we worship the incorporeal Powers, whom they represent. The Saint answers, We Christians make Images of holy Men, who had real Bodies; we paint our God in the Form of a Man, the Form in which he appeared amongst us; but you make corporeal Images of incorporeal Beings. And so do you, replies the Pagan, for you paint Angels, who are intellectual and incorporeal Beings. You Pagans indeed, answers the Saint, teach that Angels are, as well as our Sou's, incorporeal and invisible: But the Catholic Church teaches us, that they have Bodies, subtil Bodies of Air and Fire, according to that, *he makes his Ministers a Flame of Fire*. They are indeed said to be incorporeal, but only comparatively, because they have not such gross Bodies as we have.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings c. 18. ver. 3, 4.



Year of  
Christ 787.

Thus the Saint; and his Answers were all approved by the Council as containing the true Doctrine of the Catholic Church. Indeed we need not wonder at their fathering on the Church the Doctrine of Image-worship, when we find them so little acquainted with the Doctrine of the Church as to father upon her that of the Materiality of Souls and of Angels.

And a Dis-  
pute between  
a Christian  
and a Jew.

In the same Session was read a Dispute between a Christian and a Jew, in which the Jew is introduced upbraiding the Christian with a Breach of the Commandment expressly forbidding us to bow down to Images, or to worship them. The Christian answers, "The Images you see are made to put us in mind of the Benefits of Christ; the Images of the Saints represent to us their Combats and Victories. We do not worship them as Gods, but pray God to save us by their Intercession. We do not worship or adore a wooden Image or a Picture, but we glorify our Lord Jesus Christ. O Jew, even Moses made two Cherubims, and a brazen Serpent." When, or by whom this Piece was written we know not; but what was quoted out of it makes rather against the Council than for it, since the Christian there confines the Use of Images to their putting us in mind of the Benefits of Christ, and their representing to us the Combats of the Martyrs, and expressly declares that he does not worship them. *We do not worship or adore a wooden Image or a Picture,* says the Christian; *we salute, honour, worship and adore the holy Images,* says the Council. The Use of Images for Memory or Instruction, which alone the Christian defends in that Dialogue or Dispute, is in itself innocent and lawful; and the Emperor Leo would no more have destroyed them, had they been only employed for those Purposes, than good King Hezekiah would have destroyed the brazen Serpent, had it only served for a Memorial of the Miracle, that God had been pleased to work by it. Cyril of Jerusalem condemned indeed, as the Council observes, Nabucodonozor for destroying the Cherubims in the Temple. But between the Cherubims and the Images pleaded for by the Council there was this no small Difference, which the learned Fathers were not, or pretended not to be, aware of; viz. that the Cherubims were made by God's express Command, and were not worshipped, nor so much as seen by the People; whereas their Images were not made, to say no more, by God's Command, and were both seen and worshipped, contrary to his Command, by the People. Had they even been made, as well as the

the Cherubims, by an exprefs Command of God, the Worship, that was given them, would have juftified the breaking them, as the Worship, that was given to the brazen Serpent, juftified the breaking it, tho' it was made by God's own Command. However from the Words of the Chriftian in the above-mentioned Dialogue, and thofe of *Cyril* againft *Nabucodonozor*, it was concluded by the whole Affembly, that the Iconoclafts were no Chriftians, but *Jews* or *Samaritans* (it not being, according to them, Faith in Chrift, but the Worship of Images, that makes a Chriftian) guilty of the fame Crime, for which the wicked King *Nabucodonozor* was condemned by the holy Bifhop of *Jerufalem*.

Lastly, were read in this Session, and answered, as was pretended, <sup>Passages</sup> some Passages out of the many, that might have been alleged from <sup>from the Fa-</sup> the Fathers, against the Worship of Images. But the Answers were, <sup>thers against</sup> for the most part, the very same with those, that are given in our <sup>Images how-</sup> Days by the *Roman* Catholic Divines to elude the Testimonies of the <sup>answered by</sup> Scriptures and the Fathers, *viz.* that they speak only of the Images of the Heathens, or of the Worship of Images as practised by the Heathens; and these Answers the Reader will find fully confuted in the foregoing Volume<sup>m</sup>. To the plain Testimony of St. *Epiphanius* forbidding any Images of Saints, (not Images of the Heathenish Deities) to be brought into Churches or Church-yards, lest the Faithful should be diverted from their Devotions by gazing upon them, their only Answer was, that they did not believe *Epiphanius* could have disapproved of such a Practice. They had never heard, it seems, of his Letter to *John* of *Jerusalem*, wherein he gives him an Account of his having found in a Church, and torn in Pieces a Veil, on which was painted the Image of Christ or of some Saint, as has been related elsewhere<sup>n</sup>; nor of his Book *on Heresies*, where he condemns the *Carpocratians* for having an Image of *Jesus* and worshipping it<sup>o</sup>. To the Testimony of *Eusebius* holding it unlawful to paint Christ, they had nothing to reply, but that *Eusebius* was a Heretic and an *Arian*; tho' in the very Passage, that was quoted, he acknowledged the Divinity of Christ in the plainest Terms<sup>p</sup>. But had he even been an *Arian*; his Authority ought nevertheless to have been of as much Weight with the Council, as the Authority of a Catholic, the *Arians* being as orthodox with respect to Images as the

\* See vol. 3. p. 215, & seq.  
hæref. l. i. hæf. 27.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. 3, p. 227.

See vol. 3, p. 231. note F.

Epiph. contr.

Year of  
Christ 787.

Catholics themselves: Nay, they quote him themselves for an apostolical Tradition, either forgetting that he was an *Arian*, or thinking that his being an *Arian* did not in the least invalidate his Authority in a Point, that had no Connection with *Arianism*. Had an impertinent Iconoclast asked the good Fathers, why in one Place they thought the Authority of *Eusebius* of great Weight, notwithstanding his *Arianism*, and in another thought it of no Weight on account of his *Arianism*? They could have given no other Answer, but that in the one Place he was for them, and was against them in the other.

And how the  
Passages  
from Scrip-  
ture.

When the second Commandment was alleged, and other Passages out of the Scripture forbidding the Worship of Images, they were angry that Words, spoken long ago to the *Jews*, should be applied to the Christians, as if the Precepts of the Decalogue were not binding with respect to the Christians, and our Saviour had come to destroy the Law, and not to fulfil it. And now the Council having made it appear, in the Manner we have seen, that the Doctrine of Image-worship was entirely agreeable to the Scriptures, the Fathers and the Councils; that it had been confirmed by innumerable Miracles, and opposed by none, since the Times of the Apostles to the present, but by *Jews*, *Samaritans*, *Saracens*, and the worst of Heretics, *Sabas*, Abbot of *Studium*, moved that the Restoration of Images might be decreed by the holy and œcumenical Council, and the Pope's Legates that a venerable Image should be brought into the Council, and an *honorary Adoration* should by all be paid to it. The Council agreed to both Motions; but the issuing the Decree, and the Ceremony of the *honorary Adoration* were put off to the next Day, and the Session ended, as usual, with a Peal of repeated Anathemas against all, who refused to salute, honour, worship and adore the holy and venerable Images.

Sixth Session.  
An Image  
brought in  
and adored by  
the Council.

The next Day, the fifth of *October*, the Fathers met again, when an Image of our Saviour being brought into the Council, agreeably to the Motion of the Legates, the whole Assembly paid it an *honorary Adoration*, as it was stiled, or an *Adoration of Honour*, consisting in all the outward Acts of Adoration and Worship they would have given to Christ himself, had he been present. This Ceremony was attended with a Litany of Anathemas against all who did not salute the holy and venerable Images, who broke them, who called

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

III

them Idols, who thought it Idolatry to worship them, or did not curse the impious Council, that condemned them, and all who sat in it. When this Ceremony was over, they undertook to answer the Reasons and Arguments alleged against Images by the Council of *Constantinople*; with what Success we have seen elsewhere<sup>s</sup>. The Acts of the Council of *Constantinople* were read by *Gregory* Bishop of *Neocæsarea*, who had assisted at it, and the Answers to them, which they had drawn up before-hand and divided into six Tomes or Sections, by the two Deacons *John* and *Epiphanius*. The Answers, however absurd and impertinent, were approved and applauded by all, and the wicked Council, that had attempted to banish Christianity, and introduce Judaism in its Room, anathematized anew with all, who did not condemn, curse and reject it.

Year of  
Christ 787.

In the seventh Session, held on the 13th of *October*, they came <sup>Seventh Session.</sup> to the Definition of Faith; and it was decreed, that Images not only <sup>Their Decree</sup> of Christ, but of the Virgin *Mary*, of the holy Angels, and of all <sup>and Definition of Faith.</sup> the Martyrs and Saints, should be set up in Places of Worship, on the Highways and in private Houses; that they should be used on the sacred Utensils to put us in mind of those, whom they represented; that they should be worshipped and adored, not with that Adoration and Worship, that was due to God alone, but with an honorary Worship, or a Worship of Honour; and lastly that all, who disapproved or opposed such a Worship as unlawful, should be deposed, if Ecclesiastics or Bishops, and excommunicated, if Monks or Laymen. The Decree was signed by all the Bishops amidst repeated Wishes of long Life and Happiness to the new *Constantine* and the new *Helena*, and repeated Anathemas against all, who did not agree to the Definition of the holy œcumenical Council, who did not salute, honour, worship and adore the holy and venerable Images. The Decree being signed, Letters were written by *Tarasius*, in the Name of the Council, to *Constantine* and *Irene*, to Pope *Hadrian*, and to all the Bishops of the Catholic Church, with a Copy of the Definition of Faith, which the Church Universal, represented by them, had approved, and all true Christians were bound to receive as dictated by him, who promised to be with his Church *even unto the End of the World*. At the same Time it was ordained, that the Day, the 13th of *October*, on which the Decree of Faith was happily issued, should be for ever kept as a Festival, to return Thanks to the Almighty for the

<sup>s</sup> See vol. 3. p. 359, & seq.

Year of  
Christ 787.

The Decree  
confirmed by  
the Empress  
and the Em-  
peror.

Extirpation of the worst of Heresies, and the Restoration of the Catholic Faith and Christian Piety.

In the mean Time *Irene*, who had taken Care to be daily informed of all that passed in the Council, thinking it would add no small Weight and Authority to their Definition and Decrees, were they confirmed in her Presence and the Presence of the Emperor, sent an Order to the Patriarch, upon the Receipt of his Letter, enjoining him to repair, as soon as he conveniently could, with all the Bishops to the Imperial City. The Order was readily complied with; and the Bishops meeting on the 23d of *October* in the great Hall of the Imperial Palace of *Blacherna*, the Emperor and the Empress came into the Assembly, attended by their Guards, by the Magistrates, and by all the great Officers of State, and being seated on a high Throne, when the noisy and unbecoming Acclamations of the Bishops allowed them to speak, they desired the Decree of Faith issued by the holy oecumenical Council might be read so as to be heard by all. It was read accordingly; and the Empress addressing herself, as soon as it was read, to the Bishops, asked them whether the Decree they had heard was issued with one Consent, whether they all agreed to it, and had freely signed it? The Bishops answered, *we all agree to it; we have all freely signed it; this is the Faith of the Apostles, of the Fathers, of the Catholic Church; we all salute, honour, worship and adore the holy and venerable Images; Be they accursed, who do not honour, worship and adore the adorable Images. Long live the new Constantine, long live the new Helena.* When the Noise ceased, *Tarasius* presented the Decree to the Empress, who having signed it, and made her Son sign it, returned it to the Patriarch amidst the loud Acclamations of the Bishops, echoed on all Sides by the Populace in the Avenues to the Palace and in the Streets. Thus ended this famous Council; and the Assembly was no sooner dismissed, than by an Order from the Empress Images were set up anew not only in all Places of Worship, but in the Squares, in the Streets, and over the Gates of the Imperial Palaces and the City, the superstitious Multitude crouding every-where about them, and paying them, now that their Superstition was authorized by a General Council, all the external Acts of Adoration and Worship, that ever were paid by the grossest Idolaters to their Idols. And thus was the Worship of Images, which the three preceding Emperors *Leo II. Constantine IV.* and *Leo III.* had taken so much Pains to extirpate, restored

And Images  
set up anew.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

113

restored by a Woman, who had bound herself by a solemn Oath never to worship Images, nor suffer them to be worshipped in the Empire. Year of  
Christ 787.

Two Things occur to be examined relating to this Council before I have done with it. 1. Whether it may truly be called a General Council, and was received as such by the Catholic Church. 2. What kind of Worship it defined to be given to Images. As to the first, they constantly stile themselves *the holy Oecumenical Council*; or, as if that were not enough, *the Catholic Church*. But that they had no kind of Right to either of these Titles may be easily shown. For in the first Place the Assembly entirely consisted of the Pope's Legates, and the Subjects of the Empire, not one Bishop from *Africa, France, Germany, Spain or Britain*, having been so much as invited to it, or known any thing of it, till they heard, with the greatest Surprise and Astonishment, of the Decree they had issued. The three eastern Patriarchs knew no more of it, as has been shown<sup>t</sup>, than the western Bishops, nor did their Suffragans: And no Council can, according to *Bellarmino* himself<sup>u</sup>, be truly called a General Council, much less the Catholic Church, unless preceded by a General Invitation, and notified before-hand *in all the greater Christian Provinces*; nay this very Council would not allow, as *Bellarmino* observes<sup>w</sup>, that of *Constantinople* against Images to be called a General Council because it was not preceded by a General Invitation. The Absence of the Patriarchs was with the Council of *Nice* another Exception against the Council of *Constantinople*. But that Exception too was common to both, unless it be said that the Presence of one Patriarch does not entitle a Council to the Appellation of *General*, but the Presence of two does. 2. No Assembly can deserve the Name of a Council, of which every Member is not allowed an entire Freedom to speak and to vote according to the best of his Judgment. Thus had the present Council, instead of removing to *Nice*, continued at *Constantinople*, and there been forced by the Iconoclast Soldiery to confirm the Council against Images, such a Confirmation, as it was not free, would not have been received, however unanimously agreed to, as the Decision of a General Council. Now the Iconoclasts were no more free at *Nice*, than the Iconolaters or Worshippers of Images would have been free had they continued at *Constantinople*. The

<sup>t</sup> See above, p. 85.

<sup>u</sup> *Bellar. de Concil. & Eccles. l. 2. c. 17.*

<sup>w</sup> *Idem ibid.*

Year of  
Christ 787.

Empress, the Pope, the Patriarch had conspired to restore Images at all Events; *Tarasus*, a Man of great Art, Address, and Experience in the Management of Affairs, was, in defiance of the Canons, raised to the Patriarchal Dignity as the most capable of carrying that Design into Execution; the Pope had approved of his uncanonical Election upon condition that he got the holy Images restored; the Council was assembled, not to examine whether it was lawful or not to use Images and to worship them, but to establish the Use and the Worship of them; none were allowed to sit in it, who did not hold and profess the Doctrine of Image-worship, or if they had at any Time held the opposite Doctrine, did not publicly abjure it as a wicked Heresy; and was that a free Council? 3. It was not received as a General Council in any of the eastern Patriarchates besides that of *Constantinople*, as *Baronius* himself ingenuously owns\*, was condemned

Nor received  
in the West as  
a General  
Council.

in the West as a false Synod of the Greeks by a Council of 300 Bishops, and rejected in Britain as establishing a Doctrine, that was contrary to the true Catholic Doctrine, and utterly abhorred and detested by the Catholic Church; nay so very little was it regarded in the West, that we do not find it once quoted in the Disputes, that happened in the succeeding Centuries about Images, when the Definition of a Council, acknowledged for a General Council, would have proved decisive. Some of the more ancient Schoolmen, and *Aquinas*, the *Angelic Doctor*, among the rest, far from quoting it on the Subject of Images, have determined expressly against it; a plain Proof that they either knew nothing of such a Council, or paid it no kind of Regard; and either sufficiently shows that it was not ranked in their Times amongst the General Councils. 4. The Doctrine the

The Doctrine  
is established  
repugnant to  
Scripture.

Council established was evidently repugnant to the Doctrine of the Scripture and the primitive Fathers, and only grounded, as was observed by the Author of the *Caroline Books*, which I shall soon have Occasion to speak of, on Apocryphal Tales, on Apparitions and Visions, on Monkish Dreams, and old Womens Stories, more fit to be related by Nurses for the Entertainment of Children, than by Bishops to establish a Dogma of Faith. Upon the whole, no Man can peruse, with the least Degree of Attention, the Acts of this Council without being tempted to question, I will not say the Infallibility, but even the common Sense of those, who composed it. It was surely an Assembly of the most ignorant, superstitious, and credulous Men,

\* Bar. ad ann. 863. n. 6.

\* M. Westmonast. ad ann. 793.

that ever met; and I most sincerely pity the hard Fate of the learned Men, who in these enlightened Ages are bound to defend, and expose themselves by defending, what in those dark Times Ignorance, Superstition and Credulity produced.

Year of  
Christ 787.

As for the Worship, which the Council defined to be given to Images; what Worship that was; what we are to understand by the ambiguous Terms of *honorary Adoration*, or *Adoration of Honour*, we can only learn from the Practice of the Church, in which that Definition is received as an Oracle of Faith, or from the Sense, in which those Terms have been understood and expounded by the most eminent Divines of that Church. Now standing to the Practice of the Church and of all good Catholics, by *honorary Adoration* was meant that we should uncover our Heads to Images, that we should kiss them, kneel and bow down to them, burn Lights and Incense before them, and in short give to the Images, not only of our Saviour, but of every canonized Saint, all outward Marks of the Worship and Adoration, that is due to God. That this is the Practice of the Church of *Rome* is well known to all, who have but ever set Foot in a Popish Country, and these very Acts of Worship are specified by the Council of *Trent* as decreed before by the Council of *Nicey*.

These external Acts of Worship are, by the Definition or Decree of the Council, to be given not only to the Objects, which the Images represent, but to the Images themselves, as the Definition of the Council has been understood and explained by their greatest Divines. Some of them indeed, *viz. Durandus, Holcot, Picus Mirandu'a* and a few more have taught, that by the Definition of the Council Images are to be worshipped, but only *improperly* and *abusively*; as they put us in mind of the Objects they represent, and we thereupon worship those Objects before them. But their Opinion is by all the rest censured as repugnant to the Definition of the holy œcumenical Council; and to make good their Censure they allege the following, in my Opinion, unanswerable Reasons. 1. *Improper* and *abusive* Worship is, in Truth, no Worship at all; and hence it follows, that if the Council only defined an *improper* and *abusive* Worship to be given to Images, the Heretics, whom they condemned for saying that Images were not to be worshipped, would have spoken more properly than they, and been unjustly condemned. 2. As we cannot at all be said to love a beautiful Creature, tho' the Sight of it puts us in mind



Year of  
Christ 787.

of the Creator, and excites us to love him, unless our Love terminates upon the Creature as well as the Creator; so neither can we at all be said to worship an Image, tho' it puts us in mind of the Saint it represents, and excites us to worship him, unless our Worship terminates upon the Image as well as the Saint. 3. The Council declared, that Images are to be worshipped, but not with the Worship of *Latria*: Now if the Council had meant no other Worship but that of the Object in the Presence of the Image, there had been no Occasion to except the Worship of *Latria*, since the most perfect *Latria* may be given to Christ in the Presence of his Image. 4. The Heretics, whom the Council condemned, *viz.* the Iconoclasts, did not hold it unlawful to worship an Object worthy of Worship in the Presence of an Image, or when we were put in mind of the Object, and excited to worship it by the Sight of an Image, but to worship the Image itself; and it was not to prevent the People from worshipping in the Presence of Images, but to prevent them from worshipping the Images, that they broke and destroyed them. The Council therefore, in condemning them as Heretics declared it was Heresy not to worship the Images themselves. These are the Reasons alleged by the most eminent Divines of the Church of *Rome* to show, that the Worship, which the Council defined to be given to Images, was true and real Worship, and consequently, that the Opinion of those, who taught, that Images were to be worshipped only *improperly* and *abusively*, was repugnant to the Definition of the Council. And now whether we stand to the Practice of that Church, or to the Explanation of her ablest Divines, it must be owned that the Council by the Terms of *honorary Adoration*, or *Adoration of Honour* meant true and real Worship, and defined it to be given to Images, anathematizing, that is cursing and damning, all, who dissented from them either in Practice or in Doctrine. And hence it is evident that when a *Roman* Catholic tells us they do not worship Images, he either knows not the Sense of his Church, or shamefully prevaricates, not caring that the Protestants should know it. Here indeed he may deny they worship Images, and with the famous Bishop of *Meaux* explain away the Worship, which the Council defined to be given to them, till it is reduced to the Respect or the Reverence, which the Protestants show to the sacred Utensils or the Bible, thus he may, I say, explain away that Worship here without any other Danger than that of being looked upon as grossly prevaricating to palliate a Doctrine,

which

With true  
and real  
Worship.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

117

which he is ashamed to own, and cannot defend. But let him take <sup>Year of</sup> Care to alter his Language in *Spain* and in *Italy* lest something worse <sup>Christ 786.</sup> should befall him.

That Images are to be worshipped with true and real Worship is, <sup>Great Dis-</sup> as we have seen, the received and avowed Doctrine of the Church of <sup>agreement</sup> *Rome*; but with what kind of true and real Worship, whether with <sup>amongst the</sup> *Latria*, *Hyperdulia*, *Dulia*, or with some other Worship, for which <sup>Papish Di-</sup> no Name has yet been coined, the Church has not defined, nor can <sup>vinces about</sup> her Divines well determine. Some are of Opinion, that the Image <sup>the Worship</sup> is to be worshipped with the very same Worship, that is given to the <sup>given to</sup> Prototype; so that, according to them, the Image of our Saviour is to be worshipped with *Latria*, the Image of the Virgin *Mary* with *Hyperdulia*, and the Images of the other Saints with *Dulia*. Others will not allow the same Worship to be given to the Image, that is given to the Prototype, but stand up for a different and distinct Worship, tho' none of them can tell what that Worship is. I shall not trouble the Reader with the Arguments, if we may so call them, that are alleged by either Side to support their own and impugn the opposite Opinion, but only observe, that chuse what Side you will, you are arraigned by the other of Idolatry. To worship the Image with a Worship distinct from that, which we give to the Prototype, is to worship the Image as separated from the Prototype, and for its own Sake; and that is rank Idolatry; say they of the one Side. To worship the Image with the same Worship we give to the Prototype is to worship the Image of our Saviour, or of the Trinity with *Latria* or the supream Worship, that is due to God alone; and that, say those of the other Side, is rank Idolatry. And thus they, who worship Images, must necessarily be guilty of Idolatry, according to some of their own Divines, whether the Worship they give them be the same with, or distinct from, that which they give to the Prototypes; and <sup>Whatever</sup> it must be the one or the other. As we can therefore by no other <sup>Worship is</sup> Means be, in the Opinion of all, free from the heinous Sin of Ido- <sup>given to</sup> llatry, but by giving no kind of Worship whatever to Images, <sup>Images, those</sup> ~~he~~ <sup>who give it</sup> must be more senseless than the very Stocks and Stones he worships, <sup>guilty of Ido-</sup> who does not see what Party he is to take, and quite regardless of his <sup>latry in the</sup> eternal Happiness, if he does not take it. Thus far of the Second <sup>Opinion of</sup> Council of *Nice*; and I have dwelt the longer upon it, which I hope <sup>some of their</sup> the Protestant Reader will excuse, as I thought it necessary he should <sup>Divines.</sup> be rightly informed of the whole Proceedings of that Assembly, which

Year of  
Christ 786.

which some Writers have taken so much Pains to disguise, and at the same Time should know upon what Principles the Worship of Images which has occasioned such Disputes and Divisions in the Church, was first established; what kind of Worship was established to be given to them, and who were the Men that established it, making it Damnation not to worship Images, when it had been, for the Space of 700 Years, Damnation to worship them.

Charle-  
magne the  
third Time at  
Rome.

Year of  
Christ 787.

While the Bishops were all thus employed in new-modelling the Christian Worship in the East, the Pope was wholly intent in the West on enlarging his temporal Dominions, and improving the Generosity of his Friend and great Benefactor *Charlemagne* to the Advantage of his See. That Prince came this Year, the third Time, to *Rome*, and was there received and entertained with great Magnificence by the Pope. That Journey he undertook to surprise *Arichis*, Duke of *Benevento*, who had conspired with the *Greeks* to drive the *French* quite out of *Italy*, and was soliciting the other *Lombard* Princes to join in the Undertaking. But as the Design was not yet quite ripe for Execution, no sooner did the Duke hear of the unexpected Arrival of *Charlemagne* at *Rome*, than he sent his Son *Romald* with rich Presents to excuse it in the best Manner he could, and assure the King that he should thenceforth have no Occasion to complain of his Conduct. *Charlemagne* was inclined to accept his Submission and forgive him; but being diverted from it by the Pope, to gratify his Holiness he entered the Duke's Dominions laying them every-where waste with Fire and Sword, took several Cities, and advancing to the very Gates of *Benevento* would have made himself Master of that Metropolis, had not the Bishops interposed, and prevailed upon him to set Bounds to his Revenge, and forgive the Duke upon his renewing, with all his Subjects, the Oath of Allegiance he had taken to him, and delivering up to him his Son *Grimoald* with what Number of Hostages besides he should think fit to require. These Terms being agreed to by the King, he withdrew his Troops, and returning to *Rome* celebrated there the Festival of Easter, which fell this Year 787. on the 8th of *April*<sup>2</sup>. During his Stay in that City, *Hadrian*, who let no Opportunity of aggrandizing his See pass unimproved, persuaded him not only to confirm the Donation of his Father *Pepin*, but to add to it the Cities he had taken, in this Expedition, from the Duke of *Benevento*, viz. *Sora*, *Arces*, *Aquinum*,

Ravages the  
Dukedom of  
Benevento.

<sup>2</sup> Annal. Met. & Loisel. & Eginhard.

*Arpinum*,

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

119

*Arpinum, Theanum, and Capua*; nay, from the Letters of *Hadrian* <sup>Year of</sup> it appears that *Charlemagne* before he left *Rome* yielded several other <sup>Christ 787.</sup> Places to *St. Peter*, which had formerly belonged to the *Tuscan* <sup>Is persuaded by the Pope to yield to St. Peter the Places taken from that Duke.</sup> *Lombards*. But he was no sooner gone than *Arichis*, renewing his Alliance with the *Greeks*, began to concert Measures, in Conjunction with them, not only for recovering the Cities, that had been lately taken from him, but for placing *Adalgisus* on the Throne of his Father *Desiderius*, and restoring the Kingdom of the *Lombards*. Of this the Pope was informed by a Priest of *Capua* named *Gregory*; and he immediately acquainted *Charlemagne* with it<sup>a</sup>. But in the mean Time the Death of *Arichis* put an End to all his Designs; and of that Event too the Pope gave immediate Notice to *Charlemagne*, assuring him, at the same Time, that the *Beneventans* only waited the Arrival of *Grimoald*, Son of the late Duke, who was kept as an Hostage in *France*, to begin Hostilities, under his Conduct, and advising him by no means to allow him to return, which, he said, would alone defeat all their Measures<sup>b</sup>. *Charlemagne* however, not hearkening to the Suggestions of the Pope, no sooner heard of the Death of *Arichis* than he set *Grimoald* at Liberty, and gave him <sup>The Duke dies and his Son suffered to succeed him.</sup> Leave to return Home and take Possession of the Dukedom of his Father, upon his promising to side, on all Occasions, with the *French* <sup>contrary to the Advice of the Pope.</sup> against the *Greeks*; to oblige his *Lombards* to shew after the *French* Manner; to put in the public Writings and on the Money the Name of *Charles* in the first Place and his own after it, and to dismantle <sup>Year of Christ 788.</sup> the Cities of *Salerno, Acerenza, and Consa*, which his Father had fortified. The Pope, finding *Charlemagne* had acted therein contrary to his Advice, wrote to him to assure him, that it was not because he bore any ill Will to *Grimoald* that he had given it, but because he apprehended that the Presence of so bold and enterprising a Youth might, at this critical Juncture, prove extremely prejudicial to the Interest both of the *French* and *St. Peter*. From the same Letter it appears, that the Pope had already got Possession of all the Places in *Tuscany* that *Charlemagne* had yielded to him the preceding Year, except *Populonia* and *Rosellæ*. These were *Castellum Felicitatis*, <sup>Places yielded to St. Peter.</sup> *Urbevetum, Balneum Regis, Ferentum, Viterbium, Marta, Tuscania, Populonia, Soana, and Rosellæ*, some of them Cities in those Days of great Note. As for the Cities in *Campania* mentioned above, the *Beneventan Lombards* had, it seems, retaken them all or

<sup>a</sup> Ccd. Carol. ep. 88.

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Carol. ep. 99.

Year of  
Christ 788.

most of them; and *Grimoald*, the new Duke, resided, at this very Time, in *Capua* boasting, says the Pope, that he had been preferred to *St. Peter*. He kept nevertheless with great Fidelity to his Engagements with *France*. For *Adalgisus* landing this Year in *Calabria* with a powerful Army sent by *Irene* to drive the *French* quite out of *Italy*, *Grimoald*, and *Hildebrand*, Duke of *Spoleti*, joining with all their Forces the few Troops, that *Winigise*, the *French* General, had brought with him from *France*, engaged the *Greeks* and gained a complete Victory over them with very little Loss on their Side. *John*, the *Greek* General, was taken Prisoner and put to a cruel Death; but *Adalgisus* had the good Luck to make his Escape, and get safe to *Constantinople*, where, laying aside all Thoughts of any further Attempts of this kind, he passed in Peace and in Quiet the remaining Part of his Life<sup>d</sup>. This War was attended with an open Rupture between *Charlemagne* and *Irene*, and the Treaty of Marriage between the young Emperor *Constantine* and *Rotrude*, the Daughter of *Charlemagne*, betrothed to that Prince ever since the

The Greeks  
defeated in  
Italy by the  
French.

The Treaty of  
Marriage be-  
tween the  
young Empe-  
ror and the  
Daughter of  
Charle-  
magne bro-  
ken off.

Year 781, being thereby entirely broken off, the unnatural Mother obliged her Son to marry an *Armenian*, named *Mary*, of a very mean Birth and a meaner Education, in spite of his warm and repeated Remonstrances against such a Match<sup>c</sup>. This Violence she used with him, and the despotic Power she assumed over him even when he was of Age, and exercised throughout the Empire, obliged him, in his Turn, to use Violence with her; and thence arose the Disturbances I shall soon have Occasion to relate.

The Council  
of Nice con-  
futed by  
Charle-  
magne.

Year of  
Christ 790.

*Charlemagne*, tho' thus engaged in War with the *Greeks*, and at the same Time with several other Nations, did not suffer his Attention to be so engrossed by military Affairs as to neglect those of Religion; nay, to do him Justice, he took no less Pains to establish the Christian Religion, tho' not always by the most Christian Means, in the Countries he conquered, than he took Pains to conquer them. In his own Kingdom he made it his Study, as appears from the Capitulars he published at different Times, to reform the Abuses, that had crept into the Church, to maintain the Catholic Faith in its greatest Purity, and to suppress all new and heretical Doctrines or Opinions. Amongst these he reckoned the Doctrine of Image-worship established by the late Council of *Nice*; and therefore no sooner had

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. ep. 86.

<sup>d</sup> Annal. Loifel. Eginhard. in Annal. ad ann. 788.

<sup>e</sup> Theoph. ad ann. 783. Eginhard. in Annal.

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

121

he perused the Acts of that Council transmitted to him perhaps by the Pope, then equally amazed at the Ignorance of the *Greeks* and shocked at their unaccountable Proceedings in making the Worship of Images an Article of the Christian Faith, and damning all, who did not worship them, he either undertook himself, or encouraged others to undertake a Confutation of that Council and its Doctrine. The Work contains 120 Heads of Accusation against *the false Synod of the Greeks*, or, as *Hadrian* styles them, *Reprehensions*, and is divided into four Books known by the Name of the *Caroline Books*; for whether they were written by *Charlemagne* himself with the Assistance of the famous *Alcuin*, who was formerly his Preceptor, as some think, or at his Desire, by the Bishops and the learned Men of *France*, which is the Opinion of *Du Pin*, and seems to be insinuated in the Preface prefixed to the Work, it is certain that he adopted that Performance, and declared himself the Author of it by constantly speaking in the first Person as if he himself had composed it. He was, as all agree, who speak of him, a Prince of uncommon Learning, well acquainted both with sacred and profane History, and had particularly applied himself to the Study of the holy Scriptures, a Study at this Time generally neglected; so that he was, at least, equal to such an Undertaking. The Work was begun when the Acts of the Council were first sent into *France*; but it did not appear till the latter End of the present Year 790; so that three Years were spent by *Charlemagne*, or by those, whom he employed, in composing it. Indeed *Charlemagne* passed the whole Year 790. at *Worms* without engaging, as his Secretary informs us<sup>f</sup>, in any military Expedition, perhaps that he might be at Leisure to put the last Hand to that Work. It contains a full Confutation of the Doctrine established by the *Greek Synod*, as well as of the Grounds, upon which they established it, with many very severe and cutting Reflections on the Empress, on *Tarasius*, on other particular Members, and on the Council in general, for introducing a Practice evidently repugnant to the Scriptures, to the Fathers, to the Tradition of the Church, and blasphemously fathering such a Practice on the holy Apostles, and their immediate Successors, as if they had practised and taught what it is plain from their Writings they utterly abhorred. "The Acts of that Council, says *Charlemagne* in the Preface, for he is the Person, who speaks, the Acts of that Council, destitute of Eloquence;

Year of  
Christ 790.

The Caroline  
Books.

<sup>f</sup> Eginhard. in Annal.

Year of  
Christ 790.

“ nay and all Sense, having reached us, we have thought ourselves  
“ bound to confute the many gross Errors they contain, that should  
“ they infect the Hands, into which they may fall, or the Ears, that  
“ may hear them, this our Treatise might serve as an Antidote against  
“ so dangerous an Infection.”

Finds fault  
with the  
Councils both  
of Constanti-  
nople and  
Nice.

He finds fault with the Council, that was convened by *Constantine*  
as well as with that, which was convened by *Irene*, and with respect  
to both expresses himself thus; “ some Years since was held a Coun-  
cil in *Bithynia* destitute of all Discernment, Discretion and Prudence,  
for not distinguishing between Images and Idols, they ordered the Images,  
which the Ancients had placed in the Churches by way of Ornament,  
or only for Instruction, to be cast out and destroyed as so many Idols,  
applying to them what is said in the Scriptures of Idols, and impudently  
boasting that their Emperor *Constantine* had delivered them and the Church  
from Idolatry. Another Council was held three Years ago likewise in  
*Bithynia*, consisting partly of those, who assisted at the first, and partly  
of their Successors. But tho’ the Sentiments of the latter are diametrically  
opposite to those of the former, they too have grossly erred. The  
second Council anathematizes the first, and obliges us to adore the  
Images, which the other would not so much as allow us to look at.  
Those of the second, not distinguishing between our having Images  
and our worshipping them, ignorantly argue from the Passages in  
the Scriptures and the Fathers, where Images are only mentioned,  
that we must worship and adore them. We avoid both Extremes;  
neither do we worship Images, nor do we destroy them. We worship  
God alone, and have due Veneration for the Saints according to the  
ancient Tradition of the Church. We suffer their Images in our Churches  
to serve as Ornaments and Helps to Memory. But as for the absurd  
Synod, that commands us to worship them, we utterly reject it, and have  
undertaken to confute it Article by Article, where it is intelligible,  
and not too absurd to be worthy of our Notice.” Thus *Charlemagne* in his Preface.

Mistaken  
with respect  
to the Doctrine  
of the Council  
of Constanti-  
nople.

But he had not, it seems, a right Notion of the Doctrine of the  
Council of *Constantinople*. For the Fathers of that Assembly did  
not think the Use of Images unlawful in itself, nor did they confound  
Images, in general, with Idols. But finding by Experience, that they  
could not allow Images and prevent the Multitude from turning them  
into Idols by worshipping them, they ordered them on

that

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

123

that Consideration, and on that alone, to be cast out of the Churches and destroyed. The Emperor *Leo* himself was not at first averse to the Use of Images as Ornaments, or even as Helps to Devotion and to Memory. For at the same Time that he forbid them to be worshipped, he ordered them to be placed higher in the Churches, that, as Men were divided in their Opinions about them, they might neither be worshipped nor abused; and it was the Superstition of the People, that obliged him in the End, against his Inclination, to destroy them, as the Superstition of the *Israelites* obliged the good King *Hezekiah* to destroy the brazen Serpent, tho' made by God's Command; so that *Charlemagne* and *Leo*, the first Iconoclast Emperor, differed only in this, that the one thought Images should rather be destroyed than the People be exposed to the Danger of Idolatry; and the other, that the People should rather be exposed to the Danger of Idolatry than Images be destroyed.

Year of  
Christ 790.

In the Treatise itself *Charlemagne* answers one by one, and indeed *Confutes one* with a great deal of Erudition and Learning, the Arguments, that *by one the Arguments of* were alleged by those of *Nice* in Favour of Image-worship; shows *the Fathers of Nice.* that the Passages they quoted from the Scriptures and the Fathers were all either falsified and corrupted, or quite foreign to their Purpose; ridicules, as unworthy of any other Answer, the many absurd and incredible Tales they gravely related and pretended to credit, and charges them all along with Ignorance, Superstition, Credulity, Insincerity, and above all with Pride and Presumption in daring to impose upon the whole Church Definitions and Decrees, when they were but one Part of the Church; "what Rage and Madness was it," says he, for one Church to anathematize all the other Churches, "for a Part of the Church (and what a Part!) to anathematize the whole! It was cursing without Reason, Anger without Power, damning without Authority." He leaves no Argument, no Authority, no Reason, that they had alleged, undiscussed or unanswered; and concludes that whether he considers the Persons, who composed that Assembly, or their Method of proceeding, the Doctrine they established, and the Grounds, on which they established it, he cannot help looking upon them as the avowed Enemies of Truth, as Men, who to gratify *Irene* had acted contrary to the Dictates of their own Consciences, and conspired with her to abolish Christianity, and bring in anew Paganism in its Room.

§ See vol. 3. p. 199.



Year of  
Christ 790.  
That Council  
confuted at  
the same Time  
by Alcuin in  
the Name of  
the Bishops of  
England.

The Council of *Nice* met with no better Reception in *England* than it did in *France*. For *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, having communicated a Copy of it to the *English* Bishops, that had been sent him by *Charlemagne*, with whom he lived, at this Time, in great Friendship; those Bishops, not satisfied with declaring the Doctrine it contained contrary to the Faith, and a Doctrine to be abhorred by the Catholic Church, engaged *Alcuin* to write against it, and owning the Work when it was finished, caused it to be presented by him, in their Names, to *Charlemagne*. Thus *M. Westminster*<sup>b</sup>, *Hoveden*<sup>i</sup>, and *Dunelmensis*<sup>k</sup>. This Work of *Alcuin* confuting, says *M. Westminster*, the Doctrine of Image-worship with the Authority of the holy Scriptures, has not reached our Times, or has not, at least, yet appeared amongst the other Works of that learned Writer.

The Doctrine  
of the Adop-  
tionarians.

The Zeal of the *English* Bishops and the commendable Endeavours of *Charlemagne* to prevent, as he expresses it, the Contagion from spreading, that is, to prevent the Doctrine of Image-worship, defined in the East, from being received in the West, were attended with the wished-for Success. For that Doctrine was not only rejected, and rejected with Horror and Detestation, in *France* and in *England*, but soon after condemned in a Council, that had a much better Claim to the Title of a General Council than that of *Nice*, I mean the Council of *Frankfort*. But to inform the Reader on what Occasion that Council was assembled (for it was not assembled to decide any Controversy about Images, most of the western Bishops approving the Use and all condemning the Worship of Images) we must return back to the Year 783, when the Question, for the determining of which the Council met, was first moved, or rather was revived; and it was revived on the following Occasion. *Elipandus*, Bishop of *Toledo*, mispending his Time in theological Speculations instead of employing it to instruct his Flock in the plain and practical Doctrines of the Gospel, started this Question to himself, *whether Christ, as Man, should be called the natural or the adoptive Son of God, the Son of God by Nature or by Adoption?* And not trusting to his own Judgment, he wrote to *Felix*, Bishop of *Urgel* in *Catalonia*, who had been his Preceptor, desiring him to resolve it. *Felix* answered, that *Christ, as God, was the natural Son of God, or the Son of God*

<sup>b</sup> M. West. ad ann. 793.  
p. 305, 306.

<sup>i</sup> Hoveden. Annal. apud Spelman. Concil. t. 1.  
<sup>k</sup> Dunel. decem Script. Col. 111.

Hadrian.

## BISHOPS of Rome.

125

by Nature, but as Man was and ought to be called the adoptive Son of God, or the Son of God by Adoption. Felix, not satisfied with delivering and explaining that Doctrine in a long Letter to *Elipandus*, wrote afterwards several other Letters to confirm it with the Authority of the Scriptures and the Fathers; insomuch that, as he was a Prelate of a most unexceptionable Character, he gained in a short Time many, and some of them Men of Learning, over to his Opinion. On the other Hand *Elipandus*, a Man greatly respected on account of his Dignity, being Bishop of the first See in *Spain*, and no less revered by all for his eminent Sanctity and the Austerity of his Life, spared no Pains to propagate the same Doctrine, as if no Man could be saved, who did not know and profess it. Thus partly by their Writings, partly by preaching and disputing they daily brought over great Numbers to their Party, in the different Provinces of *Spain*, and among the rest *Ascarius*, Bishop of *Braeara*, and an Abbot, named *Fidelis*, a Man of great Learning in those Days.

Year of  
Christ 799.

Professed,  
maintained  
and propa-  
gated by Felix  
of Urgel and  
Elipandus of  
Toledo.

The Doctrine, which *Felix* and *Elipandus* strove with so much Zeal to propagate and establish as a Catholic Truth, was with no less Zeal opposed by others, in *Spain* chiefly by *Etherius* Bishop of *Uxama* and *Beatus* Presbyter, as rank Heresy, the very same Heresy, that had been condemned in *Nestorius*. For should we allow, said they, Christ to be, as God, the natural Son of God, and the adoptive Son of God, as Man, from thence it would follow, that in Christ there are two Sons of God, the natural and the adoptive, and consequently two Persons, whereas in Christ there is, as has been defined by the Church against *Nestorius*, but one Person; the Person of the Word, the Son of God by Nature, and at the same Time God and Man: In other Words, one Person cannot be the natural and adoptive Son of one and the same Father; and therefore if we allow Christ to be the natural and adoptive Son of God, we must, in Opposition to the Council of *Ephesus*, acknowledge in him two Persons. The Argument, on which the *Adoptionarians* (for so they were called) laid the chief Stress, was, that the Humanity of Christ was not begotten of the Substance of the Father, and consequently that Christ was not, nor could he be called, as Man or according to his Humanity, the natural Son of God. The *Antiadoptionarians* answered, that the whole Person of Christ was begotten of the Substance of the Father, and consequently that he was, and ought abso-

Arguments  
for and  
against that  
Doctrine.

Year of  
Christ 790.

lutely and simply to be called the natural Son of God, tho' the Whole of his Person, comprising his Humanity as well as his Divinity, was not begotten of the Substance of his Father: Thus amongst us Mortals the whole Man, said they, is, and is absolutely and simply called the Son of his Father, tho' the Soul, and consequently the Whole of the Man is not of the Seed of the Father. That Christ consisted of the human and divine Nature; that he was true God and true Man; and of the Substance of the Father, according to his Divinity, but not according to his Humanity, both Parties allowed; nay the *Adoptionarians* anathematized *Nestorius* as well as their Adversaries, striving with many metaphysical Distinctions and Subtleties to reconcile their Doctrine with the Definition of *Ephesus*; so that, in effect, the only Point in Dispute was; whether, consistently with that Definition, Christ might be called, as Man, the Son of God by Adoption, and, as God, the Son of God by Nature? The *Adoptionarians* maintained the Affirmative, and the opposite Party the Negative. If the former argued amiss, as I think they did, all, that can be said of them, is, that they were bad Logicians, but yet good Catholics, since they denied no one Article of the Catholic Faith. But in religious Disputes we constantly find the contending Parties charging each other with all the absurd, heretical and contradictory Doctrines, that appear to them any-ways deducible from the Opinions they impugn. In the present Dispute the *Adoptionarians* were charged by their Adversaries with holding the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, and acknowledging with him two Persons in Christ; and their Adversaries were charged by them in their Turn with holding the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, and confounding with him the two Natures in Christ: For how can we, said *Elipandus*, call Christ, as Man, the Son of God by Nature, unless we suppose the human Nature to have been changed into, or absorbed by the divine?

Their Doctrine examined in a Council at Ratisbon.  
Year of  
Christ 792.

As the *Adoptionarians* gained daily new Proselytes in spite of the Opposition they met with from *Etherius* and *Beatus* mentioned above, *Charlemagne* appointed a Council to meet in his Palace at *Ratisbon*, in 792, and commanded *Felix*, as he was his Subject, *Catalonia* being then under the Dominion of *France*, to repair to that Place and there give an Account of his Doctrine. He obeyed; but instead of gaining over to his Opinion any of the Bishops, who composed that Assembly, as he had flattered himself he should, he was himself, or pretended to be, convinced by them of his Error, and

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

127

and abjured it accordingly in their Presence, and in the Presence of *Charlemagne*, who from *Ratisbon* sent him to *Rome*, where he acknowledged and publicly retracted his Error anew in the Presence of the Pope. As his Conversion was judged sincere, he was allowed to return to his See. But whether it was sincere or not, he was soon after his Return persuaded by *Elipandus* to retract his former Retraction; and he began to propagate and to preach with more Zeal than ever the Doctrine he had abjured at *Ratisbon* and *Rome*. As for *Elipandus*, he was so entirely satisfied of the Truth of that Doctrine, that he wrote a long Letter to *Charlemagne* to convince him that the Fathers, especially his holy Predecessors in the See of *Toledo*, had all professed it, and at the same Time to beg he would cause it to be examined by the Bishops and the Divines, not doubting but, if they could divest themselves of all Partiality and Prepossession, they would all approve and receive what many of them now seemed inclined to condemn and reject.

Year of  
Christ 792.

This Letter determined *Charlemagne* to assemble a great Council; and he accordingly appointed a Council to meet, in the Summer of the present Year 794, at *Frankfort on the Mein*. It consisted of about 300 Bishops from *France*, *Italy*, *Germany* and probably from *England*; for the *English* Bishops too were invited to it by *Charlemagne*, as appears from the Letter he wrote to *Elipandus* after the Council. The two Bishops *Theophylact* and *Stephen* assisted in the Pope's Name with the Character of his Legates. For tho' *Hadrian* had already examined and condemned the Doctrine of *Elipandus* and *Felix* in a Letter he wrote to the Bishops of *Spain*, he was not against its being examined anew by a Council. The Bishops met in the royal Palace at *Frankfort*; and *Charlemagne* not only was present, but opened the Council himself with a Speech to the Fathers, giving them an Account of the Doctrine they were met to examine, and exhorting them to take the Scripture for their Guide in delivering their Opinion concerning it. When he had done, the Letter, which *Elipandus* had sent to him, containing the Authorities and Reasons, on which he grounded his Opinion, was read, examined, and condemned by all, who were present, to a Man, as plainly reviving the Heresy of *Nestorius*, which the Church had anathematized in the Council of *Ephesus*. *Charlemagne* himself acquainted *Elipandus* with this Sentence, and the whole Proceedings of the Council, exhorting him with

*Charlemagne assembles a Council at Frankfort.*  
Year of  
Christ 794.

*The Doctrine of the Adoptionarians condemned in*

1 Alcuin. advers. Elipand. l. 1. & Eginhard, in Annal.

2 Apud Bar. ad ann. 794.

great

Year of  
Christ 794.

great Zeal and Tenderness to acknowledge his Error, to submit his Judgment to that of so many Bishops, and to join the Apostolic See, as well as the Churches of *France, Germany and Italy* in the Confession of the Catholic Faith. But *Elipandas*, paying no kind of Regard to the Authority of the Council, or the Exhortations of *Charlemagne*, continued still to maintain the same Doctrine; and some Years passed before an End could be put to the present Dispute, as we shall see in the Sequel.

And likewise  
the Council  
of Nice.

The Doctrine of the *Adoptionarians* being thus condemned, the Council undertook, in the next Place, to examine the Acts of the Council of *Nice*; and having carefully examined them, they unanimously condemned the Worship, that was there decreed to be given to Images. This we learn from the second Canon of the present Council, the Words of which are; *the Question concerning the new Synod of the Greeks, that was held at Constantinople about worshipping Images, was then debated; in that Council it was written that they should be anathematized, who did not pay that Service or Adoration to the Images of the Saints, which they paid to the Divine Trinity; hereupon our most holy Fathers refusing by all means to pray to them, or pay them Service, despised and unanimously condemned it.* Such a Canon or Decree issued by a Council, that was lawfully assembled, that consisted of 300 Bishops, and at which assisted the Legates of the Pope, with whose Approbation it was convened, has greatly embarrassed the Advocates for Images, and the Patrons of the Council that defined it; and they have left no Means unattempted they could think of to reconcile the one Council with the other, and thus save the Authority of both. As the Council, condemned by the Council of *Frankfort*, is called in the Canon, that condemns it, the Council of *Constantinople*, some, and among the rest *Surius* and *Binius*, the first Editors of the Councils, have concluded from thence, that the Fathers of *Frankfort*, far from condemning the Council of *Nice*, confirmed it, and condemned the Council, that was held at *Constantinople* under *Copronymus*. And from them, no doubt, was borrowed the Title, that is still prefixed to the Council of *Frankfort* in the *Louvre* Edition, viz. *The Council of Frankfort, in which the Heresy of Felix was condemned the third Time by the Bishops of the whole Kingdom of the Franks, of Italy, Gaul and Germany, in the Presence of Charlemagne, and*

‡ Alcuin. & Paulin. in Lib. advers. Elipand.

‡ Concil. t. 7. p. 1057.

*the Legates of Pope Hadrian Theophylact and Stephen, and the Acts of the second Council of Nice about Images were confirmed in 794.* But that the Fathers of *Frankfort* condemned the Worship of Images as well as the Council establishing that Worship, and consequently confirmed the Council of *Constantinople* under *Copronymus* so far as it condemned the same Worship, is manifest beyond all Dispute from the Words of the Canon quoted above, and besides is attested by all the contemporary Writers (A). They called, it is true, the Council they condemned the Council of *Constantinople*; and the Reason why they so stiled it is obvious: It was begun and was ended at *Constantinople*, as has been related above. Some to screen the Council of *Nice* have placed another, which they suppose to have been held at *Constantinople*, between that and the Council of *Frankfort*; and that, say they, was the Council of *Constantinople* condemned at *Frankfort*, it having been there defined that the same Worship should be given to Images that was due to the Divine Trinity<sup>u</sup>. But that Council is a mere Invention of their own, not the least mention being made of it by any Historian whatever; and besides it is evident from the Authors I have quoted, that, whether any Council was held or not between those of *Nice* and *Frankfort*, the Council condemned at *Frankfort* was that of *Nice*.

Year of  
Christ 794.

No Council  
held at Con-  
stantinople  
between the  
Council of  
Nice and  
that of  
Frankfort.

<sup>u</sup> Annal. Eccl. Franc. ad ann. 794.

(A) *The Synod*, says Eginhard, a contemporary Writer, that a few Years before was assembled at Constantinople under Irene and her Son Constantine, and was by them called not only the Seventh, but a General Council, was rejected by all (1), viz. by all the western Bishops assembled at Frankfort. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who lived in the ninth Century, writes thus of the Council of Frankfort: In the Time of Charlemagne by Order of the Apostolic See, and the Summons of the Emperor, a General Synod was called in France, where according to Scripture and the Tradition of the Ancients, the false Synod of the Greeks was rejected and utterly made void. Thus by the Authority of this Council the Veneration of Images was some-  
what checked (2). The false Synod, says Regino, which the Greeks had convened for adoring Images, was rejected by the Bishops (3); and Uspergensis, the Synod, which was assembled a few Years before under Irene and her Son Constantine, and which they called the Seventh and a General Council, was rejected by all (4). In the Council of Frankfort, says Aventinus, under Charles the Great, the Decrees of the Greeks for adoring Images were reversed (5). The same Thing is asserted by all the other contemporary Historians and Annalists (6); and all speak of the Council, that was assembled under Constantine and Irene, that is of the Second Council of Nice, tho' stiled by some the Council of Constantinople.

- (1) Eginhard. Annal. ad ann. 724. apud Goldast. (2) Hincmar Rhem. contr. Laud. c. 20. (3) Regin. Chron. ad ann. 794. (4) Ab Ursperg. Chron. ad ann. 793. (5) Avent. Annal. Boiar. l. 4. p. 253. (6) Vide Hist. Franc. Script. t. 2, & 3.

Year of  
Christ 794.

Whether the  
Council of  
Frankfort  
mistook the  
Meaning of  
the Council of  
Nice?

*Sirmond, Petavius*, and with them the more modern Writers, ashamed to recur to such poor Subterfuges, ingenuously own the Council of *Nice* to have been condemned by that of *Frankfort*, but yet, unwilling to give up either, stily maintain the Definition of the one to be entirely agreeable to that of the other. To make good this Paradox, they tell us, that the Author of the *Caroline Books* as well as the Council of *Frankfort* by a Mistake in Matter of Fact, (for neither does the Infallibility of the Pope nor that of a General Council extend to Matters of Fact) into which they were led by a bad Translation of the Council of *Nice*, ascribed to that Council a Doctrine, which they neither held nor defined, and thereupon condemned, at the same Time, the Doctrine and the Council. The Doctrine they ascribed to them was, that *Images are to be worshipped with the very same Worship we give to the Divine Trinity*. This Doctrine, say they, shocked *Charlemagne*, or the Author of the *Caroline Books*, as well as the Fathers of *Frankfort*: and they condemned so horrid a Blasphemy together with the Council, that had, as they took it for granted, defined it. But the Fathers of *Nice*, abhorring that Doctrine as much as the Fathers of *Frankfort*, only defined a *relative, inferior, and honorary Worship* to be given to Images; and that kind of Worship the Council of *Frankfort* did not condemn, and may be consequently said to have rather approved. Thus *Sirmond Petavius, De Marca, Natalis Alexander, and Maimburg*.

They under-  
stood their  
Meaning and  
condemned  
their Doc-  
trine.

But in the first Place the Author of the *Caroline Books* could not possibly mistake the Meaning of the Council, nor could the Fathers of *Frankfort*; as if the Worship of *Latria* had been there decreed to be given to Images, or it had been defined that the same Worship should be given to Images that was given to the Trinity. Indeed the *Nicene Bishops* spoke very ambiguously with respect to some Points, but always distinguished, and in such Terms as no Man could misunderstand or misconstrue, the Worship they gave to Images from that, which was according to them, due only to God, declaring in every Act, that they did not look upon their Images as Gods; that they did not worship them as the Pagans worshipped their Idols; that they did not give them the Worship, that was due only to God, but an inferior, relative and subordinate Worship. Thus in their very Definition they all protested, that by an honorary Worship they did not mean true *Latria*, which is due only to God; and *Tarasius*

Hadrian.

BISHOPS of Rome.

131

in hearing the Pope's Letter read declared, that he received it and the Doctrine it contained, the Worship of Images, *reserving Faith and Latria to God alone*<sup>x</sup>. In like manner spoke all the rest, as appears from the Acts: And who can believe that 300 Bishops, after perusing those Acts, (for we may well suppose they perused them, and with some Degree of Attention) should have thought that *true Latria*, or the Worship, that was there said to be due only to God, was commanded to be given to Images?<sup>y</sup>

Year of  
Christ 74.

But the *Latin* Translation, say the Advocates for the Council of *Nice*, which *Charlemagne* perused and the Fathers of *Frankfort*, was very different from the *Greek* Original. In the *Latin* Translation, for instance, *Constantine* Bishop of *Constantia* in the Island of *Cyprus*, is introduced saying, *I receive and embrace with Honour the holy and venerable Images, and pay them the same Service of Adoration I pay to the Trinity*; whereas in the *Greek* Original he says quite the contrary, *I embrace with Honour the holy and venerable Images, but give the Adoration of Latria to the Trinity alone*<sup>x</sup>. Now from the Words of *Constantine*, as *Charlemagne* and the Fathers of *Frankfort* read them in the *Latin* Translation, they concluded that he thought the same Adoration should be given to Images, that was given to the Trinity, and that the rest of the Council, as none of them offered to contradict him, all consented to what he had said. And it was upon that Mistake that the Council of *Frankfort* condemned that of *Nice*. This they urge as an irrefragable Proof, or rather Demonstration that the Fathers of *Frankfort* mistook the Meaning of the Fathers of *Nice*, and condemned not the Worship, that was, but the Worship, that was not decreed at *Nice* to be given to Images. But from the very Passage in the *Caroline* Books, where Notice is taken of what was supposed to have been said by the Bishop of *Cyprus*, it is evident that the Author of those Books, and consequently the Fathers of *Frankfort*, well knew that those of *Nice* had not decreed the same Worship to be given to Images, that was, according to them, due to the Trinity. For in that very Place the Author of those Books observes, that in those Words *Constantine* contradicted the rest; that he betrayed unawares what the rest strove to conceal, viz. their giving to Images the Worship, that was due to the Trinity; that in Words indeed they denied their giving the same Worship to Images and to the Divine Trinity,

They condemned the  
very Worship,  
that was de-  
fined by those  
of *Nice*.

<sup>x</sup> Concil. Nic. Sess. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. Sess. 3.



Ye of  
Christ 794.

*but that their Actions belied their Words<sup>z</sup>.* From these Words it is evident beyond all Dispute, that *Charlemagne* knew the Fathers of *Nice* had not defined the same Worship to be given to Images, that was, according to them, due to the Trinity, since he charges the Bishop of *Constantia*, saying he gave them the same Worship, with contradicting all the rest. I might add, that had *Charlemagne* and the western Bishops misunderstood the Meaning of the Council, the Pope's Legates, who were present, and knew, as we may well suppose, what kind of Worship had by the *Nicene* Synod been commanded to be given to Images, would have taken Care to acquaint them with it, and not suffered them to condemn, upon such a Mistake, a Council approved by the Pope.

And all kind  
of Worship.

In the second Place it was not the Worship of *Latria* alone with respect to Images, that *Charlemagne* and the western Bishops rejected and condemned, but religious Worship in general, or religious Worship of every Kind or Degree. Of this no Man can doubt, who has ever but dipt into the *Caroline* Books; for there *Charlemagne* condemns *Adoration, Service, Veneration, Worship of all Kinds, OMNIMODUM CULTUM*, particularly *praying, bowing, kneeling to Images, burning Incense to them, or Lights before them<sup>a</sup>*; he calls it Temerity to compare Images to the Cherubims in the Temple, to the Mercy-seat, or to the Ark<sup>b</sup>; will not allow the same Honour or Reverence to be due to them, that is due to the sacred Utensils or to the Bible<sup>c</sup>; stiles all kind of Adoration, that is given to Images, *superfluous, vain, superstitious, highly absurd, summæ absurditatis, sacrilegious<sup>d</sup>*; will have all to conform to the Doctrine of Pope Gregory the Great, that is, to retain Images as Helps to Memory, or for Instruction, but to avoid by all Means giving them any kind of Worship<sup>e</sup>. Let Images, says he, be retained provided all Adoration be excluded<sup>f</sup>; Images are so far useful as they put us in mind of the Objects they represent, but God alone is to be worshipped.

Hadrian sup-  
poses the Wor-  
ship defined by  
the one Coun-  
cil to have  
been con-  
demned by the  
other.

3. *Hadrian* in his Answer to the *Caroline* Books, of which I shall soon have Occasion to speak, no-where charges the Author of those Books, or the Fathers of *Frankfort* with mistaking the Meaning of the Fathers of *Nice*, but defends the Worship, that was defined by the one Council; as condemned by the other. Had the Disagree-

<sup>z</sup> Lib. Carol. l. 3. c. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

c. 21. 23.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. l. 2. c. 29, 30.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. c. 21.

<sup>a</sup> Lib. Carol. l. 2. c. 21. 23, 24, 25. 28, 29, 30.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. l. 2. c. 21. 24, 25.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

Hadrian.

## BISHOPS of Rome.

133

ment between the two Councils been only owing to a Mistake, would not *Hadrian* have rectified that Mistake? Would he not have informed the western Bishops that the Worship, which they rejected and condemned, was not the Worship, which the *Greeks* had approved and defined? Would he have undertaken to prove, as he did in a long Apology, the Lawfulness of a Worship inferior to that of *Latria*, had he thought that they, against whom he undertook to prove it, condemned no other Worship but that of *Latria*? Year of  
Christ 794.

4. The western Bishops and Churches all persisted in rejecting the Council of *Nice* and the Doctrine it had defined, as will appear in the Sequel, even after *Hadrian*, in his Answer to the *Caroline* Books, had explained that Doctrine so as to leave no Room to doubt of the Meaning of the Council: A convincing Proof or rather Demonstration, that it was not, as is pretended, because the Fathers of *Frankfort* misunderstood the Meaning of those of *Nice*, that they condemned their Council and Doctrine.

But the very Canon of *Frankfort*, say the Writers mentioned above, is evidently grounded on a Mistake, it being there said, that the same Worship was commanded, under an Anathema, to be given to Images, that was given to the Divine Trinity; whereas the Fathers of *Nice* declared in twenty Places, that they gave to Images only an *honorary Adoration*, reserving *true Latria* to God alone. But, 1. If they declared in twenty Places, that they reserved *true Latria* to God alone, how could *Charlemagne* and 300 Bishops mistake their Meaning, and think they had commanded what they called Worship of *Latria* to be given to Images? 2. From the *Caroline* Books, which were received and approved by the Fathers of *Frankfort*, it is manifest, that they did not admit the Distinctions used by the *Nicene* Synod of *Latria* and *Dulia*, of *relative* and *absolute*, of *inferior* and *supreme* or *superior* Worship, but thought *religious Service, Adoration* or *Worship*, of what Kind soever or Degree, was due to God or was Worship of *Latria*, and consequently that to pay any *Service, Adoration* or *Worship* whatever to Images was paying to them that *Service, Adoration*, or *Worship*, which they paid to the Divine Trinity. The Canon of  
Frankfort  
not grounded  
on a Mistake.

But *Charlemagne*, says *Natalis Alexander*, was highly provoked against *Irene* for breaking off the Match between her Son and his Daughter; and it is highly probable that to be revenged on her he undertook to confute her Council, and assembled a Council in the Charle-  
magne not  
prompted by  
Revenge to  
condemn the  
Council of  
West Nice.

Year of  
Christ 794.

West to condemn it<sup>f</sup>; that is in other Words, *Charlemagne* did not really think the Doctrine, that was defined at *Nice*, an *absurd, impious, sacrilegious, detestable* Doctrine, Epithets, which he bestows on it in twenty Places of his Work, but nevertheless represented and confuted it as such to be revenged on *Irene*, who had caused it to be defined; and he prevailed on the western Bishops to prostitute their Consciences to his Revenge and condemn it. And is it highly probable, that *Charlemagne*, whom these very Writers extol on all other Occasions as a most religious, a most Christian Prince, a most zealous Defender of the Catholic Faith, should, on this Occasion, have acted so antichristian a Part? That the western Bishops, blindly concurring with him, should have all sacrificed to his peevish Humour their Honour, their Reputation, their Conscience? We must think very meanly both of him and of them to entertain such a Notion. Had the Match been broken off by *Irene*, and not by *Charlemagne* himself, as *Eginhard* his Secretary tells us it was, the provoked Prince wanted not other Means of being revenged on her more effectually than by vilifying the holy Images, which I suppose were not against the Match, by excluding them not only from all Worship but even from the Honour or Reverence, that he thought due to the Utensils of the Church, and degrading them into mere Ornaments. He might at this very Time have invaded her *Italian* Dominions, and seized them almost without Opposition: And he had thus more effectually been revenged on the perfidious *Irene* than if he had even turned Iconoclast, and caused all the holy Images to be broken in Pieces and cast into the Flames.

*The Worship of Images not looked upon by the Fathers of Frankfort as an indifferent Thing.*

Lastly, The Patrons of Image-worship and of the Council of *Nice* urge the following Words out of the last Chapter of the *Caroline* Books, *we allow Images to be made, but oblige no Man to worship them*. From these Words they conclude, that *Charlemagne*, and consequently the Fathers of *Frankfort*, looked upon the Worship of Images as an indifferent Thing, and only quarrelled with those of *Nice* for commanding that Worship under an Anathema, and thus making it necessary. But first that one Council should think and define a Thing necessary to Salvation, and another think and define it an indifferent Thing, is no trifling Disagreement. 2. An indifferent Thing is what a Man may lawfully do or omit as he pleases; and could *Charlemagne*, after he had laboured throughout his Work to

<sup>f</sup> Vide Spanhem. sect. 7. p. 479.

<sup>g</sup> Eginhard. ad ann. 783.

prove the worshipping of Images a *vain, superstitious, sacrilegious, and idolatrous* Practice repugnant to the Divine Law, close it with declaring he looked upon that Worship as an indifferent Thing? Thus he had undone at once all he had been doing in four Books. As that Passage therefore evidently contradicts all the rest, and besides is not to be found in the first Edition of the Work, we may well suppose, with the learned *Spanheim* and others, that it has been since foisted in.

To conclude; from what has been hitherto said it is, I think, evident beyond all Dispute, in spite of the Cavils, that have been yet urged to the contrary, that the Council condemned by the western Bishops assembled at *Frankfort* was the second Council of *Nice*; that the one Council condemned the very same Doctrine, which the other had defined, and consequently that the Doctrine of Image-worship, tho' approved and zealously recommended by the Pope, was condemned by a Council, that had as good a Claim, to say no more, to the Title of a General Council as that, which defined it.

The Fathers of *Frankfort* thought it advisable before they parted to acquaint the Pope with their Proceedings; and they sent him accordingly their Definition, and with it the *Caroline* Books as containing the Reasons, why they had condemned the Doctrine of Image-worship, and the Council, that had defined it. As *Hadrian* had received that Council, he thought himself bound to defend it; and that Task he undertook, addressing his Defence or Apology to *Charlemagne*, whom he frequently commends, and treats throughout the Work with the greatest Regard and Esteem. He pretends to answer one by one the Objections urged by him and the western Bishops against those of *Nice*; but that his Answers, far from being satisfactory, contain many Things, that are quite absurd, many, that are incongruous, and many, that deserve to be censured, was the Judgment passed upon his Apology by the *Gallican* Bishops in the Council of *Paris*, which I shall have Occasion to speak of hereafter; and the learned *Du Pin*, in the Account he gives of that Piece, entirely agrees with them.

*Hadrian* was, it seems, under some Apprehension that from his defending the *Greek* Synod *Charlemagne* should conclude him a Friend to the *Greeks* and the Emperor; and therefore, to remove any Suspicion of that kind, he took Care to declare in his Preface, that it was not to support the Interest of any Person whatever, but only

Year of  
Christ 794.

The Council  
and Doctrine  
of Nice evi-  
dently con-  
demned at  
Frankfort.

*Hadrian* un-  
dertakes to  
answer the  
*Caroline*  
Books.

But courts  
with great  
Address the  
Favour of  
*Charle-  
magne*.

Year of  
Christ 794.

only to maintain the ancient Practice and Tradition of the holy Roman Church that he had undertaken the Defence of the Greek Synod. He even excuses to *Charlemagne* his having received it at all, telling him, that as by that Synod the Heresy of the Iconoclasts was condemned, the *Greeks* would have relapsed into their Heresy had he not received the Council, that condemned it; which was, in some measure, declaring that he received it for what it had condemned rather than for what it had defined. He adds, that tho' he received the Council, he had yet returned no Answer to the Letters that had been sent him seven Years since from *Constantinople* concerning it; that with respect to the Article of Images, he was entirely satisfied with the Conduct of the Emperor, but had, in other Respects, great Reason to complain of him, as he still with-held the Patrimonies of *St. Peter*, which his Iconoclast Predecessors had unjustly seized; that he would therefore write to him, if his Royal Excellency approved of it, and thank him for what he had done in the Cause of Images, but at the same Time insist on his restoring the Patrimonies, which his Ancestors had usurped, and declare him a Heretic, if he did not restore them; that is, to gratify *Charlemagne* he was ready to declare the Emperor a Heretic tho' entirely satisfied with him as to his Orthodoxy. But he could no more prevail on the King with his Complaisance than with his Arguments to change his Opinion. *Charlemagne* still continued, and so did the western Bishops, to reject the Doctrine of Image-worship with the Council, that had defined it; and neither was received in the West till several Ages after, as will appear in the Sequel.

*Latria now  
given to  
Images tho'  
not allowed by  
the Council of  
Nice.*

I cannot help observing, before I dismiss this Subject, that tho' the Fathers of *Nice* declared over and over again that they reserved *Latria* to God alone, that Images were not to be worshipped with *Latria*, but with an inferior, relative and subordinate Worship; it is nevertheless now the general Opinion of the Divines of the Church of *Rome*, that Images and the Prototypes, or those, whom they represent, are to be worshipped with the very same Worship, and consequently that the Cross, the Images of the Trinity, (now allowed but formerly forbidden<sup>b</sup>) and those of Christ are to be worshipped with *Latria*, that is with the very same supreme Divine Worship, with which Christ himself and the Trinity are worshipped. This Opinion they ground on the Practice of the Church in the Worship

<sup>b</sup> See vol. 3. p. 282.

## Hadrian. BISHOPS of Rome.

137

of the Crofs (B), owning thereby that the Church adores the Crofs with *Latria*, and concluding from thence, that as the Crofs is adored with *Latria* on account of its Relation to Christ, the Images of Christ and the Trinity are, on the same Account, to be adored with the same Adoration. Now if it is not Idolatry to give the same supreme Divine Worship to a Piece of Wood, or a painted Canvas, that we give to God, I should be glad to know the true Meaning of that Word. To say, that they only are guilty of Idolatry, who take something to be God that is not God, and worship it as such, is clearing from that Guilt all the wiser Pagans, who did not take their Images for Gods, as has been shown<sup>i</sup>, and restraining it to mere Fools and Idiots, since none but mere Fools and Idiots can think, as was observed by *Celsus*, that the Wood or Stone of an Image made and governs the World; that an Image made by a Smith or a Carpenter is the Creator of the World, the Maker of the very Man, who made it, and of the very Wood or Metal, of which it was made.

Year of  
Christ 794.

*Hadrian* did not live to see what Reception his Answer to the *Caroline* Books met with from *Charlemagne* and the western Bishops. He died soon after he had finished it, and his Death happened on the 25th of *December* 795 (C), after he had presided in the *Roman* See 23 Years, 10 Months, and 17 Days. He was a Man of very uncommon Parts, of great Address, of an extraordinary Discernment in Affairs of State, and, in short, an able Politician, but no Divine, if we may judge of his Knowledge in Divinity from his Writings, especially from his Answer to the *Caroline* Books, and his Letter to *Constantine* and *Irene* concerning the Worship of Images<sup>k</sup>; two Pieces, that show him very little conversant in History, and less conversant in Scripture. As the temporal Grandeur of the Papal See

*Hadrian dies.*  
Year of  
Christ 795.

*His Character.*

<sup>i</sup> See vol. 3. p. 215. note B.

<sup>k</sup> See above, p. 79.

(B) Especially in the Service of Good Friday, when the whole Church addresses the Crofs thus, *Behold the Wood of the Crofs; come let us adore it*; and their Actions agreeing with their Expressions, they all fall down and adore it, praying to it in the most express and formal Terms of Prayer: *O Crux ave spes unica, hoc passionis tempore, piis adauge gratiam, reisque dona veniam.* In the *Roman* Pontifical, where the Rubric determines the

Order of Procession at the Reception of an Emperor, it is said, *the Legate's Crofs shall be on the Right Hand, because Latria is due to it, and the Emperor's Sword on the Left* (1); so that it is the Sense of the Church, that the Crofs should be worshipped with *Latria*.

(C) The *French* Annalists all place the Death of *Hadrian* on the 25th of *December* 796: But with them Christmas-day was the first Day of the new Year.

(1) Pontific. Rom. edit. Rom. p. 672.

Year of  
Christ 795.

was entirely owing to the Generosity of the *French* Princes and Nation, and wholly depended on the Continuation of their Protection and Favour, *Hadrian* made it his Study, during the whole Time of his long Pontificate, to gain the good Will of that Nation, and of the great Prince, who was then at the Head of it, espousing his Interest with great Zeal, as it was inseparable from his own, against their common Enemies the *Greeks* and the *Lombards*. Thus by his Policy and Address he not only maintained, but considerably extended, as has been related, the temporal Power and Dominion, which his Predecessors had acquired.

His Death  
greatly la-  
mented by  
Charle-  
magne.

His Death was greatly lamented by the *Romans* and the People of *Italy*, but by none so much as by *Charlemagne*, who burst into Tears, when he first heard of it, and weeped, says *Eginhard*, as if he had lost a Brother, or the most beloved of his Children<sup>1</sup>. Not satisfied with the common Tribute of Tears he caused Prayers to be every-where offered up for the Repose of his Soul, distributing great Alms for that Purpose, and sending considerable Presents even to the chief Churches of *England*, not that he entertained the least Doubt of the Happiness of that blessed Soul, as he declared in his Letter to *Offa* at this Time King of *Mercia*, but to show his Faith, and the Sincerity of his Affection and Friendship for one, whom he so tenderly loved<sup>m</sup>(D); nay, to transmit to Posterity a lasting Testimony of

<sup>1</sup> Eginhard. in vit. Carol.

<sup>m</sup> Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Angl. l. i. c. 4.

(D) If he entertained not the least Doubt of the Happiness of that blessed Soul, it was not to deliver it out of the Torments of Purgatory that he distributed Alms, and caused Prayers to be offered up. The Custom of praying for the Dead obtained in the Church at least as early as the Time of *Tertullian*; for he, I think, is the first who speaks of it (1). After him it is particularly mentioned by *Cyprian* (2), *Arnobius* (3), the Author upon *Job* under the Name of *Origen* (4), by *Origen* himself (5), by *Cyril of Jerusalem* (6), by *Epiphanius* (7), and, I may say, by all the

ancient Fathers. But that such a Custom was not grounded on the Belief of Purgatory, as if the Souls, for which they prayed, were detained and tormented there for the Sins they had not expiated in their Life-time, is manifest from their praying for the most holy Men and the greatest Saints, for the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apostles, the Martyrs, the Confessors (8): Nay, it appears from the ancient Liturgies ascribed to *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Gregory Nazianzen* and *Cyril*, that they prayed for the Virgin *Mary* herself (9), whom no Papist will allow to have ever

(1) Tertull. de Coron. Milit. c. 3. & de Monogam. c. 10. ep. 37. vel 22. ad Cler. ep. 34. vel 39. & 66. vel 1.

(2) Cyprian.

(4) Orig. in Job.

(5) Orig. in Roman. l. 9. t. 2.

(3) Arnob. l. 4. p. 181.

(6) Cyril Catech.

Myst. 5. n. 6.

(7) Epiphanius. hæres. 75.

(8) Idem ibid.

(9) Apud

Usher. Answer to the Challenge, p. 138. & Dallæum de Pænis & Satisfac. l. 5. c. 8.

touched.

of that sincere Affection and Friendship, he wrote his Epitaph himself, setting forth, in Elegiac Verse, all the good Qualities with all the great Works of his deceased Friend (E). That Epitaph he caused

Year of  
Christ 795.

Who writes  
his Epitaph,  
and sends it  
to Rome.

touched at Purgatory. In the Greek Liturgy of *Chrysostom* it is said; we offer unto thee this reasonable Service for the faithful deceased, our Fore-fathers, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, religious Persons, and every Spirit perfected in the Faith; but especially for our most holy, immaculate, most blessed Lady, the Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary (1). We must therefore either allow that praying for the Dead does not infer Purgatory, or that the greatest Saints, the Prophets, the Apostles, the Martyrs, nay and the Virgin Mary herself, went all first to Purgatory, or at least were supposed by the Church to be in Purgatory, since she prayed indifferently for them all.

As for the Grounds and Reasons of that ancient Practice, they were various according to various Opinions, that obtained in those Days. Many of the Fathers were of Opinion, as is well known, that the Souls of all the Just, except the Martyrs, were detained in some Place invisible to mortal Eye, which they called *Hades*, *Paradise*, *Abraham's Bosom*, where they were happy, but expected a more complete Happiness at the End of all Things. They, who held this Opinion, may be supposed, in praying for the Dead, to have prayed that the Souls of the Just, thus sequestered for a Time, might at last be admitted to perfect Happiness in Heaven. Others thought, that by the Prayers of the Church the Glory of the Saints was increased, and the Pains of the Damned, in some Degree, mitigated and lessened. *The Prayers of the Church*, says *St. Austin*, serve to render the Damnation of the Wicked more tolerable (2). Of the same Opinion were *Prudentius* (3), *Paulinus* (4), the Author of the Questions to *Antiochus* under the Name of *Athanasius* (5), and *Chrysostom* (6), who advises Men to pray for the Dead, because it would bring some

Comfort to them, tho' but little, and tho' none at all, yet it would be accepted by God, as a pleasing Sacrifice from those, who offered it. Many other Reasons occur in the Ancients, on which they grounded the Practice of the Church in praying for departed Souls; they prayed that God would receive them to himself; that he would deal with them according to his Mercy, and not in strict Justice according to their Merits; that as the Soul is but in an imperfect State of Happiness till the Resurrection, the Just might rise the last Day to an endless State of consummate Happiness; that thus they manifested their Faith of a future Resurrection, and in the mean Time maintained a kind of Communion between the Members of Christ yet alive, and those, that were departed only, and not lost by Death (7). There is not among the many Reasons, alleged by the Fathers to justify the Practice of the Church in praying for the Dead, the least Intimation, or distant Hint of Purgatory, or of a Place, where the departed Souls are confined and tormented, till they have paid the utmost Farthing, or are prayed out of those inexpressible Torments by their Friends. And who can believe, that if such a Doctrine had then been known, the Fathers would have all forgot to allege it as a Reason of their praying for the Dead? It would certainly have better justified the Practice of the Church than any Reason they alleged.

(E) Among the other Verses are the following more tender than elegant.

*Post Patrem lacrymans Carolus hæc carmina scripsi;  
Tu mihi dulcis amor, te modo plango,  
Pater.  
Nomina jungo simul titulis, clarissime,  
nostra,  
Hadrianus, Carolus, Rex ego, tuque  
Pater.*

(1) Chrysost. Liturg. t. 4. p. 614.

(3) Pruden. Cathem. car. 5. de Cereio Pascali. quæst. ad Antioch. quæst. 34.

Aët. & hom. 32. in Math. l. 15. c. 3. scilicet. 15, 16.

(2) Aug. Enchirid. 2d Laurent. c. 110.

(4) Paulin. ep. 19.

(5) Athanas.

(6) Chrys. hom. 3. in Phil. hom. 21. in

(7) See Bingham *Antiquit. of the Christian Church*,



Year of  
Christ 795.

to be engraved in gold Letters upon Marble, and sent it to *Rome* to be there set up at his Tomb in the Vatican; and to this Day it is to be seen at the Door of that Church. To the Epitaph were added in Prose the Time of his Pontificate, and the Day of his Death in the following Words; *Pope Hadrian of blessed Memory sat 23 Years, 10 Months, and 17 Days, and died on the 7th of the Kalends of January*, that is, on the 26th of *December*; where he is said to have died on the Day, on which he was buried. For that he died on Christmas-day, and consequently on the 25th, and not the 26th of *December*, is attested by all the Historians of those Times. But as Men were then commonly buried the very Day they died (and so was *Charlemagne* himself) the Day, on which they were buried, is often called the Day of their Death, tho' they happened to be buried one or two Days after their Death; and their Exequies were scarce ever put off any longer, unless something intervened to prevent them<sup>n</sup>.

His public  
Works.

What we read in *Anastasius* of the Generosity of *Hadrian* to the Poor, of his Magnificence in repairing and embellishing the Churches and Cemeteries of *Rome*, in rebuilding the Walls, and restoring the ancient Aqueducts of that City, far exceeds any Thing we read not only of his Predecessors, but of the greatest Princes of those Times. There was scarce a Church, a Monastery, or an Oratory in *Rome*, that did not partake of his Generosity. On the Ornaments of the *Vatican* Basilic alone he is said to have employed 2580 Pounds Weight of Gold, besides an immense Quantity of Silver and precious Stones of all Sorts. Among the other Presents or Offerings he made to that Church was a Chandelier of wonderful Workmanship capable of holding 1370 Candles. It hung before the Chancel; and *Hadrian* appointed it to be lighted four Times a Year, viz. on the Festivals of Christmas, of Easter, of the holy Apostles, and on the Day of the *Roman* Pontiff's Ordination. He expended, in repairing the ruinous Walls of the City, 1100 Pounds Weight of Gold, and larger Sums on the Aqueducts and other public Ornaments or necessary Works; insomuch that *Rome* is said to have, in great measure, recovered under him its ancient Lustre and Grandeur<sup>o</sup>. It was the Generosity of *Charlemagne* that enabled *Hadrian* to perform such extraordinary Works. For *Eginhard* tells us, that on the Church of St. *Peter* *Charlemagne* heaped, to use his Expression, immense

He enriches  
the Churches  
of Rome.

<sup>n</sup> Vide Pagi Critic. Bar. ad ann. 795. n. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Anast. in Hadrian.

## Leo III. BISHOPS of Rome.

141

Quantities of Gold, of Silver, of precious Stones, and made rich Presents to the Popes without Number, having nothing so much at Heart as to see the City of *Rome* restored, by his Means, to its ancient Authority, and the Church of St. *Peter* enriched with his Wealth above all other Churches. This Wealth was the Plunder of the different Nations *Charlemagne* had conquered, especially of the *Saxons* and the wealthy Nation of the *Huns*, whom he almost entirely rooted out; and it was perhaps to atone for his Cruelty and Injustice that he thus shared the Booty with St. *Peter* and the Pope.

Year of  
Christ 795.

*Hadrian* wrote a great Number of Letters to different Persons, and on different Subjects, which have been carefully collected by *Ludovicus Jacob* in his *Bibliotheca Pontificia*; and to him I refer the Reader.

Wrote numerous  
letters.

In the Time of *Hadrian*, *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, having treacherously murdered *Ethelbert*, King of the *East Angles*, undertook a Pilgrimage to *Rome* to atone for that Crime, and at the same Time to obtain of the Pope a Confirmation of the Privileges he had granted to the Monastery of St. *Alban*, which he had built and richly endowed upon the pretended miraculous Discovery of the Body of that Saint, after it had lain concealed 500 Years and upwards. The Pope received the King with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem, applauded his Devotion to the Protomartyr of his Kingdom, and readily confirmed all the Privileges, Immunities and Exemptions he had granted to the new-founded Monastery. That he did not, as is pretended, during his Stay at *Rome*, make his Kingdom tributary to the Pope and St. *Peter*, has been shown elsewhere.

CONSTANTINE,  
IRENE,  
NICEPHORUS,  
MICHAEL RHANGABE.

LEO III.

Emperors of the  
West,  
CHARLEMAGNE,  
LEWIS THE DE-  
BONAIRE.

Ninety-fifth BISHOP of Rome.

IN the Room of *Hadrian* was raised to the See *Leo* the third of that Name, Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of one *Azuppius*. He was chosen, with one Consent, by the Nobility, the Clergy, and the People the Day after the Death

Leo III.

<sup>p</sup> Eginhard. in vit. Carol. <sup>q</sup> Westmonast. ad ann. 794. & M. Paris. in vit. Off. p. 26. <sup>r</sup> Vol. 3. p. 194, 195.

Year of  
Christ 796.

Acquaints  
Charle-  
magne with  
his Promo-  
tion.

To whom the  
Romans  
swear Alle-  
giance.

The Custom  
of sending  
Keys to  
Princes.

of *Hadrian*, the 26th of *December*, and ordained the next Day<sup>s</sup>, which in 795. fell on a Sunday.

*Leo* was no sooner ordained than he wrote to *Charlemagne* to acquaint him with his Promotion, sending him at the same Time the Keys of the Confession or Tomb of *St. Peter*, the Standard of the City of *Rome*, with several other Presents, and desiring him to appoint some Lord of his Court to repair to *Rome* in order to receive of the *Roman* People, in his Name, their Oath of Allegiance<sup>t</sup>. Upon the Receipt of this Letter *Charlemagne* dispatched the Abbot *Angilbert*, one of his chief Favourites, with a Letter to the new Pope, wherein he expressed great Satisfaction at his being raised, with the Approbation of all, to the Pontifical Dignity, as well as at his assuring him of his Obedience and Fidelity. In the same Letter he exhorted his Holiness to edify the Church by his good Example and a strict Observance of the Canons, assuring him, that on his Side, he was resolved to execute the Treaties he had made with his Predecessor, to entertain a strict Union with him, and ever to defend as *Roman Patrician*, the holy Catholic Church and the Apostolic See of *St. Peter*<sup>u</sup>. From these Letters we may, I think, well conclude with *De Marca*, that the *Roman* People acknowledged *Charlemagne* for their liege Lord and Sovereign; nay that the Pope himself owned him for his liege Lord as well as they, since he promised him Obedience and Fidelity, and consequently that tho' the Pope received the Revenues, tho' he appointed the Magistrates, the Judges, and other Officers in *Rome* and the other Cities yielded by the Kings of *France* to the Apostolic See, the Sovereignty or supreme Power was nevertheless lodged in those Princes. It is certain at least, that they exercised a sovereign Power in *Rome*, that they called *Rome* their City, that the People of *Rome* stiled them their Lords, *Domini nostri*, and that the Popes themselves acted on all Occasions as depending upon them. As the Keys of Heaven were supposed to be kept by *St. Peter*, who was therefore stiled the Door-keeper of Heaven, and the Key-bearing Apostle, *Claviger*, Keys were made of Gold, of Silver, or other Metal, and being laid on the Tomb of *St. Peter*, were sent from thence to all Princes indifferently, who had in any Manner well deserved of the Church. But the Standard of *Rome* was sent only to the *Roman* Patricians, or to those, who

<sup>s</sup> Anast. in Leon. 111.

<sup>t</sup> Eginhard. Annal. ad ann. 796.  
Carol. Leon. inter Epist. Alcuin. ep. 84.

<sup>u</sup> Epist.

## Leo III. BISHOPS of Rome.

143

were to defend the Church against Schismatics, Heretics, and Infidels. Thus was it sent by *Stephen II.* to *Pepin*, by *Gregory III.* to *Charles Martel*, by *Hadrian* to *Charlemagne*, and by the succeeding Popes to such Princes as engaged, or were to engage in War with the Enemies of the Church.

Year of  
Christ 796.

*Charlemagne* sent to the new Pope, together with his Letter, most magnificent Presents, the Spoils of the *Huns*, whose rich Metropolis, named *Ringa*, *Henry*, Duke of *Friuli*, had lately taken and plundered. As the Duke was sent against them by *Charlemagne*, whose Vassal he was, to him he delivered up the whole Treasure; and *Charlemagne*, reserving nothing for himself, distributed Part of it amongst his Officers and those of his Court, but sent the far greater Share to the Pope. The Present was designed for *Hadrian*; but the King, hearing at the same Time of his Death, and of the Promotion of *Leo*, sent it to the new Pope to be employed by him in repairing and adorning the Churches of *Rome*, especially that of *St. Peter*<sup>w</sup>. And thus, to do *Leo* Justice, it was by him employed as soon as he received it. For he caused a Censer of Gold to be made for the Church of *St. Peter* weighing 17 Pounds, covered the Shrine of the Apostle with Plate of Gold, weighing 49 Pounds and enriched with a great Number of precious Stones, added to several other less considerable Ornaments three Crowns of Silver weighing 307 Pounds, repaired the Roof, and rebuilt the Porches quite gone to Decay. In like manner he rebuilt or repaired 20 other Churches, and enriched most of them with Ornaments and Utensils of great Value. To the Church of *St. Mary ad Praspe* he gave a Ciborium of Silver, that is, the Vessel, in which the Sacrament was kept, weighing 600 Pounds, and three Crowns of Silver weighing 155, to the Church of *St. Laurence* without the Walls three Statues of Silver weighing 54 Pounds, and to that of *St. Susanna*, where he was ordained, sacred Utensils of all Kinds, enriching it besides with Pictures, with Statues, with precious Stones, with Crosses, some of Gold, some of Silver, and other Ornaments without Number; so that it became at once one of the richest and most magnificent Churches in *Rome*. *Leo*, having thus with the Treasure sent him by *Charlemagne* renewed, embellished, and enriched most of the Churches of *Rome*, employed the remaining Part of that Treasure in building a most magnificent Hall, or Banqueting-room, *Tricli-*

Immensa  
Treasures  
sent by Char-  
lemagne to  
Rome.

How em-  
ployed by the  
Pope.

<sup>w</sup> Eginhard. in Annal.

Year of  
Christ 796.  
His Tricli-  
nium in the  
Lateran Pa-  
lace.

*nium* in the *Lateran* Palace, called from him *Aula Leonina* and *Basilica Leonina*. It far exceeded in Grandeur and Ornaments all the other Buildings of *Rome*. *Anastasius* takes particular Notice of the Pillars of Porphyry most curiously wrought, of the many Vases all of the most scarce and valuable Marble, of the Walls covered from Top to Bottom with Marble of different Colours and Kinds, and of several Representations in Mosaic Work of an elegant Taste. Of these one is to be seen to this Day, in which *St. Peter* is represented sitting with three Keys lying on his Knees. On his Right Hand is *Leo*, and *Charlemagne* on his Left, both kneeling. To *Leo* he gives with his Right a Pall, and with his Left the Standard to *Charlemagne*. Over *Leo* are these Words in *Latin*, *our most holy Lord Pope Leo*, and the following over *Charles*, *to our Lord King Charles*, with these under both, *St. Peter grant Life to Pope Leo, and Victory to King Charles*. This Representation was, no doubt, designed by the Pope as a Memorial for After-ages of his sending the Standard to *Charlemagne*, and his thereby acknowledging him *Roman* Patrician, and Protector of the City of *Rome* and the Church. Thus did *Leo* employ the first Year of his Pontificate; for these great Works are related by *Anastasius* as begun soon after his Election and completed in one Year's Time<sup>x</sup>.

The See of  
Canterbury  
restored by  
Leo to its an-  
cient Juris-  
diction.

Year of  
Christ 797.

The same Year 796. *Renulph*, King of *Mercia*, hearing of the Death of *Hadrian*, and the Promotion of *Leo*, dispatched to *Rome* an Abbot named *Wuda* to congratulate the new Pope on his Election, and at the same Time to propose to him the restoring of the See of *Canterbury* to its ancient Jurisdiction. For *Offa*, late King of *Mercia*, being highly provoked against the People of *Canterbury*, and thinking it besides inconsistent with the Dignity of his Crown, that the Bishops of his Kingdom should acknowledge the Bishop of any other for their Metropolitan, had obliged them to withdraw their Obedience to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and own the Bishop of *Lichfield*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, for their Metropolitan; nay he had even obtained of Pope *Hadrian* a Pall for his new Archbishop. Thus the Bishops of *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Leicester* and *Sydnacester* in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the Bishops of *Helmansted* and *Dunmoe* in the Kingdom of the East *Angles*, which *Offa* had annexed to his Crown, became Suffragans to the Archbishop of *Lichfield*. But as this occasioned a Misunderstanding

<sup>x</sup> Anast. in Leon. III.

among the *English* Prelates, which *Kenulph* apprehended might end in a Schism, he wrote this Year to the Pope, soon after his Accession to the Crown by the above-mentioned Abbot, the following Year by others, and lastly by *Atkelard* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, entreating his Holiness to suggest to him what he thought most proper to be done on the present Occasion; but at the same Time telling him, that as *Austin* of blessed Memory had first preached the Gospel to the *Saxons* in *England*, as he died at *Canterbury*, and his Body lay there, that City had, with the Approbation of all, been distinguished with the metropolitical Dignity; that King *Offa* being at Enmity with the People of *Canterbury*, and the venerable *Lambert* then Archbishop of that City, had curtailed the Jurisdiction of that See, and divided the Diocese into two; that Pope *Hadrian* had, at the Request of the King, granted a Pall, a Grant quite unprecedented, to the Bishop of the *Mercians*; that he indeed blamed neither believing both now reigned in Heaven with Christ and his Saints, but only entreated his Holiness to examine impartially the Letter, which *Athelard* had written to him in an Assembly of his Brethren concerning the Division of his Diocese. The King's Letter is filled with Expressions of the highest Esteem and greatest Respect for the Pope; was written in the Name of all the Bishops and Nobility of his Kingdom as well as in his own, and accompanied with a Present of 120 Mancusas, a Coin about a Mark in Value. With this Letter was dispatched to *Rome* *Athelard* himself, who prevailed in the End upon the Pope, as he was a Man of great Address and uncommon Abilities, to restore the See of *Canterbury* to its ancient Jurisdiction. The Pope's Letter in Favour of *Athelard* and his See is dated the 15th of the Kalends of *February*, or the 18th of *January*, in the second Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Charles*, and in the 10th Indiction<sup>2</sup>, that is in the Year of Christ 802, those chronological Marks answering that and no other Year. The learned Collector therefore of the *English* Councils was certainly mistaken in making *Adulph*, Archbishop of *Lichfield*, sign, as a private Bishop, the Council of *Bacanceld*, held, according to him, in 798<sup>2</sup>, since he was not reduced to that Condition till four Years after, when the Jurisdiction of the See of *Canterbury* was again extended to all the Churches of *England*.

<sup>1</sup> Concil. t. 7. p. 1109. De Gest. Angl. continuat. l. 1. c. 12. & apud Bar. ad ann. 795. <sup>2</sup> Malmesb. de Pontif. p. 210. <sup>3</sup> Concil. Brit. vol. 1. p. 317.

Year of  
Christ 796.

Felix of Ur-  
gel and Eli-  
pand of To-  
ledo con-  
demned in a  
Council at  
Rome.

Year of  
Christ 799.

In the latter End of the Year 798, or more probably in the Beginning of the Year 799, *Leo* assembled a Council in the Church of *St. Peter* at *Rome* on the following Occasion. *Felix* of *Urgel*, notwithstanding he had renounced his Opinion concerning the Adoption of Christ first in the Assembly of *Ratisbon*, and afterwards in the Presence of Pope *Hadrian* at *Rome*<sup>b</sup>, and had been condemned by all the western Bishops in the Council of *Frankfort*, had, at the Persuasion of *Elipand* of *Toledo*, retracted his former Retractions, and begun anew to preach the same Doctrine. Hereupon *Charlemagne*, unwilling to recur to Violence till all other Means had proved ineffectual, charged *Alcuin*, the most learned Man of his Time, to write both to *Felix* and *Elipand*, and try to convince them of their Error. *Alcuin* wrote accordingly; but his Letter was answered by *Felix*, not with the Brevity of an Epistle, to use his Expression, but with the Prolivity of a Book, calculated to establish his former Opinion, as entirely agreeable to the Doctrine of the Scriptures and the Fathers. His Book or Epistle as well as *Alcuin's* Letter, which had given Occasion to it, and a Treatise against the *Adoptionarians* consisting of three Books, which *Paulinus*, Patriarch of *Aquilea* had lately published, were, at the Desire of *Alcuin*, sent by *Charlemagne* to *Rome* to be examined there by the Pope in a Council. A Council was accordingly convened by *Leo* in the *Vatican*, and the Letter of *Felix* being read and examined, the Doctrine it contained was condemned by the Pope and the 57 Bishops, who composed that Assembly, as heretical and blasphemous, and *Felix* anathematized, if he did not sincerely repent, and retract it.

Felix appeals  
to Charle-  
magne.

The Acts of the Council were immediately transmitted to *Charlemagne*, who thereupon ordered *Leidrade* of *Lions*, *Nesrid* of *Narbonne*, with several other Bishops, Abbots, and some of the most learned Men of his Clergy, to repair to *Urgel*, to hold a Council there, and summoning *Felix* to appear at it, acquaint him with the Sentence lately pronounced at *Rome* against him, and depose him, if he obstinately persisted in his Error. The Bishops, arriving at *Urgel*, acquainted *Felix* with the Judgment given by the Pope and his Council, as well as with the Order they had received from the King, threatening to put the one and the other, without Delay, in Execution, if he did not, in their Presence, own his Error, and publicly abjure it. *Felix* begged he might be first conducted to the

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 127.

King, not doubting, he said, but that he should appease his Wrath, and entirely satisfy him however prejudiced against him by the Misrepresentations of his Enemies. The Bishops granted him his Request; and being sent to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where *Charlemagne* then was, he begged he might be heard once more, and allowed to allege in his Presence, and in the Presence of such Bishops and Men of Learning, as he should think fit to name, what he had to offer in Favour of his Opinion, assuring him, that Truth was the only Object he had in his View, and that, if they could but convince him of the Truth, he would that Moment own and embrace it.

*Felix* had already thrice renounced his Opinion, and as often embraced it anew. *Charlemagne*, trusting to his repeated Protestations, and ascribing his Obstinacy chiefly to Ignorance, resolved to comply once more with his Request. He therefore assembled the neighbouring Bishops, and at the same Time ordered *Alcuin*, of whose Integrity, Knowledge and Learning he entertained, and very deservedly, the highest Opinion, to repair to *Aix*, and attend the Council, which, at the Request of *Felix* he had appointed to meet in that City. The Bishops met in the royal Palace, and the Point in Dispute, *viz. whether Christ, as Man, was the Son of God by Nature, or only by Adoption*, being argued for five whole Days by *Felix* and *Alcuin*, in the Presence of the Bishops, of the King, and all the great Officers of State, and Passages without Number quoted on both Sides from the Fathers and Councils, *Felix* yielded in the End, acknowledged his Error, abjured it the fourth Time, and, to convince the World of the Sincerity of his Conversion, published a Confession of his Faith, declaring therein that his other Retractions were all only pretended, but that this was, as he should answer it the last Day, unfeigned and sincere, being owing to no other Force but that of Truth and Conviction. This Confession of Faith he addressed to the Clergy of his Diocese, exhorting such of them, as he had by his Authority or his Writings wickedly seduced and led astray, to follow his Example, and return, together with him, to the Unity of the Church.

But this Conversion either was not more sincere than the three other, or he afterwards changed his Mind, and was thereupon deposed and banished to *Lions*, where he died while *Agobard* was Bishop of that City, leaving a Writing behind him, wherein he en-

\* *Alcuin. advers. Elipand. l. 1. Confess. fidei Felic. apud Alcuin. p. 998. Anonym. in vit. Alcuin.*



Year of  
Christ 799.

His Cha-  
racter.

The two Ne-  
phews of the  
late Pope con-  
spire against  
Leo.

deavoured by way of Question and Answer to establish the Opinion, which he had so often, and so solemnly abjured. That Writing *Agobard* undertook to confute with the Testimonies of the Fathers<sup>d</sup>, for both Parties pretended to have the Fathers plainly on their Side. But the Authority of the King was with many of far greater Weight than that of the Fathers; and it was more by his Authority than by the Authority of the Fathers, that the Sect of the *Adoptionarians* was, in the Course of a few Years, utterly suppressed. *Felix* was a Man of an unblemished Character, and generally looked upon as a Saint till he forfeited the good Opinion the World entertained of him by obstinately adhering to his own Opinion, and refusing to submit his Judgment to that of the Church. *Alcuin* himself speaks of him as a Man of Learning<sup>e</sup>: But with all his Learning he could never comprehend how Christ, as a Man, could be, or be called the Son of God by Nature. As for *Elipand* of *Toledo*, he is said to have acknowledged his Error at last, and sincerely abjured it<sup>f</sup>. His Conversion, and that of most of his Followers was chiefly owing to the Zeal and Labours of *Alcuin*, who wrote, at the Request of *Charlemagne*, first seven Books against the *Adoptionarians* addressed to *Felix*, and afterwards four addressed to *Elipand*.

Peace was thus restored to the Churches of *Spain*; but that of *Rome* was in the mean Time disturbed by an unheard of Attempt. *Hadrian* had raised his two Nephews *Paschalis* and *Campulus* to the two chief Employments in the Church (and this is the first Instance of Nepotism that occurs in the History of the Popes) and they ruled, during his Pontificate, with an absolute Sway. That extravagant Power, which they probably used no better than most of the Popes Nephews have done since their Time, *Leo* undertook to controul, tho' it is not to be doubted but that the Unanimity, with which he was chosen the very Day after the Decease of his Predecessor, was owing chiefly to them, who were, in a manner Masters of the Suffrages of the People as well as the Clergy. They had flattered themselves that *Leo* would, out of Gratitude, allow them to enjoy the same unlimited Power under him they had enjoyed under their Uncle, nay that he would himself be governed entirely by their Councils. Being thus disappointed, and provoked beyond measure at their Disappointment, they formed the wicked Design of murder-

<sup>d</sup> Agobard. lib. contra Fel. Ado. in Chron.  
<sup>f</sup> Tamayus in Catalog. Episcop. Toletan.

<sup>e</sup> Alcuin. ep. 15. ad Carol.

ing *Leo*, and getting another chosen in his Room, who should better acknowledge his Obligations to them. They chose for the Execution of their Design the 25th of *April*, the Day of a solemn Procession, at which the Popes used annually to assist. As *Leo* was therefore repairing that Day from the *Lateran* Palace to the Place, where the Procession was to begin, *Paschalis* met him on his Way, but not in an Attire proper for the Occasion, which he excused, pretending to be indisposed, and not in a Condition to attend the Procession. Soon after came *Campulus*, and both attended the Pope; the one on the one Hand, and the other on the other, entertaining and diverting him till they came to the Monastery of *St. Stephen* and *St. Silvester*, where a great Number of armed Men, rushing out with a hideous Noise from the neighbouring Houses, surrounded the Pope, and after beating him till they thought him ready to expire, held him wallowing in his Blood on the Ground, while *Paschalis* and *Campulus* endeavoured to put out his Eyes, and pluck out his Tongue. The Conspirators spared his Life, being moved to Compassion, as we are told, in seeing him reduced to so miserable a Condition; but shut him up in the Monastery mentioned above, and from thence conveyed him in the Dead of the Night, lest his Friends should attempt his Rescue, to the Monastery of *St. Erasmus*, where they kept him closely confined. But his first Chamberlain *Albin*, having gained the Abbot of that Monastery, privately conveyed him, with the Assistance of his Friends, over the Walls of the City to the *Vatican*, where he was received and entertained with the greatest Humanity by the Abbot *Wirad*, who resided there with the Character of Envoy from *Charlemagne*. In the mean Time *Winigisus*, Duke of *Spoleti*, informed of what had happened, hastened to *Rome* at the Head of his Army, and delivering the Pope out of all Danger, carried him, in a kind of Triumph, to his own Dominions.

That *Leo's* Tongue and Eyes were really pulled out, and miraculously restored to him, as he afterwards both spoke and saw, is asserted not only by *Anastasius*, who lived some Time after, but by several Writers, who lived at that very Time, and by *Alcuin* among the rest (F), in whose Authority *Pagi* would have us to acquiesce quite

(F) Of this Miracle *Alcuin* speaks thus in a Poem he wrote on the Journey, which, after this Attempt, *Leo* undertook into *Germany*, to acquaint *Charlemagne* with it by word of Mouth. *Leo*, says he, at their first meeting,

*Verbero*

Year of  
Christ 799.

Seize him and  
use him with  
great Barba-  
rity.

Is rescued by  
the Duke of  
Spoleti.

His Eyes and  
Tongue falsely  
said to have  
been pulled  
out and mira-  
culously re-  
stored.

Year of  
Christ 799.

quite decisive. But neither did *Alcuin*, nor indeed any of the Writers quoted by *Pagi*, ever see, or tell us they ever saw the Pope without his Tongue and his Eyes: So that it was only by Report they knew that both were pulled out; and therefore their Authority can by no means be admitted as decisive, no more than the Report, upon which it was grounded. They believed it indeed; but in that credulous Age Miracles were become common, and as commonly believed even by Men, in other Respects, of the greatest Sagacity, as any daily Event or Occurrence of Life. Of this Miracle *Leo* himself takes no kind of Notice; and who can believe that had so stupendous a Miracle been wrought in his Favour, he would not have urged it as an incontestable Proof of his Innocence against the Aspersions of his Enemies charging him with many enormous Crimes, and pretending it was their Zeal for the Honour of the See of St. *Peter* that prompted them to attempt on his Life?

Repairs to  
Charle-  
magne.

From *Spoleti* the Pope wrote to *Charlemagne* to acquaint him with the Attempt, that had been made on his Life, and the cruel Treatment he had met with; and soon after set out for *France* to implore the Protection of the King against the inveterate Hatred of his Enemies, whom nothing less would satisfy than his utter Ruin and Destruction. But being informed, on his Journey, that the King was then encamped at *Paderborne*, he repaired thither, and was met, as he approached the Place, first by *Hildivald*, the King's Chaplain, afterwards by *Pepin*, King of *Italy*, and lastly by *Charlemagne* him-

How received  
by him.

self, who received him, both bursting into Tears at their first meeting, with all possible Marks of Respect, Veneration, and Friendship. During his Stay at *Paderborne*, he gave the King a minute Account of the Conspiracy, that had been formed against him, of the wicked Designs of his Enemies, and the barbarous Treatment he had met with at their Hands. The King assured him of his Protection; but being then upon the Point of entering *Saxony*, (and this was the

\* *Pagi* Gest. Pont. Rom. vol. 2. p. 7.

*Verbera commemorans, extinctum lumine  
vultum*

*Narrat, & abscissam liquido de gutture  
linguam:*

*Nunc medicante Deo sanatum & ab om-  
nibus istis*

*Esse malis, &c.*

And a few Lines after

*Exquirat Carolus casus, auditque laborum  
Diversos, sceleris populi impia facta stu-  
pescit:*

*Miratur geminas jamdudum luce fenestras  
Extinctas, & nunc reparatum lumine  
vultum,*

*Truncatamque loqui miratur feripe lin-  
guam;*

*Alter in alterius configunt lumina vultus,*

28th

### Leo III. BISHOPS of Rome.

151

28th Year of the *Saxon* War) he advised him for the present to return to *Rome*, appointing several Bishops, and some of the chief Lords of his Court to attend him on his Journey, and protect him against any further Attempts of his Enemies. *Leo*, thus attended, set out from *Paderborne*, was received and entertained in all the Cities, through which he passed, as *St. Peter* himself, and being met, as he approached *Rome*, by the whole Clergy, the Senate, the Militia, and all the *Roman* Nobility, he was conducted by them amidst the loud Acclamations of the People to the *Vatican*, where he performed Divine Service with great Solemnity, all, who were present, receiving the Sacrament at his Hands. The next Day, the 29th of *November*, he entered the City, and took Possession anew of the *Lateran* Palace<sup>b</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 799.

Returns to  
Rome and is  
well received  
by the Ro-  
mans.

Some Days after the Bishops and Lords, who had attended him from *France*, assembling in the great Hall, which *Leo* had built in the *Lateran* Palace, summoned the Conspirators, and all, who had any Thing to lay to the Charge of *Leo*, to appear before them, being commissioned by the King to hear their Complaints, and do them Justice, if any-ways injured by the Pope or his Ministers. Some appeared, and among the rest *Paschalis* and *Campulus*, charging the Pope with several Crimes, which Historians have not thought fit to specify; but not being able to make good their Charge, the Commissioners, fully satisfied of the Innocence of the Pope, and the Malice of his Enemies, after they had spent a whole Week and more in hearing and carefully examining every Complaint that was brought against him, ordered the two chief Conspirators, *Paschalis* and *Campulus* to be seized, and sent them to Prison<sup>i</sup>.

The chief  
Conspirators  
seized and  
imprisoned.

In the mean Time *Charlemagne*, having quieted the *Saxons* for the present, and held a General Diet of the States at *Maience*, set out from thence, at the Request of the Pope, with the Flower of his Army for *Italy*. Being arrived at *Ancona*, he detached his Son *Pe-  
pin* with the greater Part of the Army against *Grimoald*, Duke of *Benevento*, who, as he was informed, had privately entered into an Alliance with the *Greeks*, and marched himself with the rest towards *Rome*. The Pope, attended by his Clergy and the *Roman* Nobility, met him at *Nomentum* in *Sabina* about twelve Miles from *Rome*, dined with him there, and having, in a private Conference, informed

Charle-  
magne sets  
out for Italy.  
Year of  
Christ 800.

<sup>a</sup> Anast. in Leon. III. Eginhard. ad ann. 799. Anonymus Lambec. ibid.

<sup>t</sup> Anast.

him

Year of  
Christ 800.

His Reception  
at Rome.

He assembles  
a Council to  
try the Pope.

The Clergy  
decline judg-  
ing him.

And he  
clears him-  
self by an  
Oath.

him of the present Situation of Affairs in the City, returned the same Day to the *Lateran*. The next Day, the 24th of *November*, the King advanced with his Army to *Rome*, and dismounting from his Horse at the *Vatican*, was received by the Pope, who there waited his Arrival with all the *Roman* Clergy, and introduced by him into the Church, the Clergy singing, as he entered the Basilic, Hymns of Thanksgiving for his safe Arrival, which were echoed on all Sides with repeated Shouts of Joy by the People. He spent seven whole Days in acquainting himself with the State of *Rome* as well as with the Situation of Affairs in *Italy*, in examining every Circumstance of the Attempt, that had been made on the Life of the Pope, and receiving daily new Informations concerning that Attempt. Having thus heard all the Conspirators could allege against the Pope, or plead in their own Defence, he appointed all the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots then in *Rome*, the whole Body of the *Roman* Clergy, and all the *Roman* Nobility, as well as the great Officers of State, who attended him, to assemble in the Church of *St. Peter*; and there sitting on the same Throne with the Pope, told the Assembly; that the wicked Attempt made on the Life of his Holiness, and the unheard of Cruelty of his Enemies had filled him with Horror; that it was chiefly to inform himself thoroughly of so horrid and unprecedented an Attempt that he was come into *Italy*; that the Conspirators, to lessen their own Guilt, charged the Pope with many most heinous Crimes, but whether justly or unjustly it was incumbent upon them to enquire, since it was for that Purpose he had called them together. At these Words the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots cried out, says *Anastasius*, all with one Voice; we dare not judge the Apostolic See, the Head of all Churches: By that See and its Vicar we are all judged, and they by none. Hereupon *Leo*, addressing the Assembly, told them, that for their Satisfaction he was willing to justify himself, and would the next Day, in the Manner his Predecessors had chosen to justify themselves on the like Occasion. The Assembly therefore being met the next Day in the same Place, the Pope, holding the book of the Gospels in his Hand, took, in the Presence of all, the following Oath; so may I, on the last Day, partake of the Promises made to all in the Gospels, as I am innocent of the Crimes laid to my Charge. And now the King declaring himself, as well as the Assembly, entirely satisfied and fully convinced of his Innocence, the Hymn *Te Deum*, &c. was sung by

all

all with the greatest Solemnity to thank the Almighty for thus restoring their much injured Pastor to his See, and together with him Peace and Tranquillity both to the Church and the City<sup>k</sup>. As for *Paschalis* and *Campulus*, the chief Authors of that wicked Attempt, they were by the whole Assembly sentenced to Death. But, at the earnest Desire and Request of the Pope, their Lives were spared, and they only banished, with all their Accomplices, to *France*<sup>l</sup>.

What happened, soon after this Trial in *Rome*, is the most remarkable Event of *Charlemagne's* Life, and has rendered the Memory of Pope *Leo* III. more famous, than that of all the other Popes, in the Annals of *France*, I mean the Promotion of *Charlemagne* to the Imperial Dignity, commonly called the Translation of the Empire to the *French*, but very improperly, since the Empire was not thereby translated, nor taken from the *Greeks* and given to the *French*, but only the Title of Emperor, extinct ever since the Time of *Augustulus* in the West, was revived and given to *Charles* (G). This great Event is thus related, and very concisely, by the contemporary Writers; “ *Charles* passed the Winter at *Rome*, says the anonymous Annalist published by *Lambecius*, who wrote at this very Time, and as there was then no Emperor, the Empire being governed by a Woman, (*viz.* by *Irene*) the Pope, the other Bishops, and the whole People of *Rome* thought it proper and just that *Charles*, King of the *Franks*, who held *Rome* formerly the Seat of the Emperors, and all the other Places in *Italy*, *Gaul* and *Germany* once held by them, should be distinguished with the same Title. They acquainted *Charles* therewith; and he being, at their Request and Desire, consecrated by *Leo* on the Festival of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, took upon him the Title of Emperor<sup>m</sup>. ” *Anastasius* only tells us, that the same Assembly, the

Year of  
Christ 800.

Charlemagne raised  
to the Imperial Dignity.

The Account  
Historians  
give of that  
Event.

<sup>k</sup> Anast. ibid. Eginhard. in Annal. Anonymus apud Lambec. Annal. Laurisham. Mosiac. Monach. San Gall. l. 1. c. 18. <sup>l</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>m</sup> Annal. Anonym. ad ann. 801.

(G) Some Coins or Medals of *Charlemagne* are still to be seen with this Legend, *RENOVATIO IMPERII, the Revival of the Empire*: And so it is called by *Sigonius*, the Title of Emperor of the West, says that *Writer*, which had failed, about 300 Years before, in *Momyllus Augustulus*, was revived by the Pope, that the *Roman* Church might have a Defender, or Guar-

dian, against Infidels, Heretics and seditious Men, an Office, which the Emperors of the East had long since utterly neglected, and in a Manner resigned (1). As no Prince bore, at this Time, the Title of Emperor of the West, that Title might well be revived, but could not be transferred.

(1) Sigon. de Reg. Ital. l. 4. ad ann. 801.

Year of  
Christ 800.

Assembly mentioned above, meeting soon after again in the Basilic of St. Peter, the Pope placed a most precious Crown on the King's Head; and that thereupon the whole *Roman* People crying out three Times aloud, to *Charles Augustus, crowned by the Hand of God, great and pacific Emperor, Life and Victory*, he was appointed Emperor of the *Romans*, and anointed, together with his Son, by the holy Pontiff on Christmas-day<sup>a</sup>. In the same Manner, and almost in the very same Words, is this Transaction related by all the contemporary Historians to a Man. Some of them only add, that the new Emperor being placed, after he had received the holy Unction, on a Throne, the Pope and the *Roman* People, adoring him, or prostrating themselves before him, thus acknowledged him, as they had formerly acknowledged the other Emperors; for their Lord and their Sovereign; that the Pope having presented him with the Imperial Robes, he returned, attired as Emperor, from the Church to his Palace, amidst the loud Acclamations of the People crowding from all Parts to see him, and that thenceforth laying aside the Title of *Roman* Patrician, he constantly stiled himself *Augustus* and Emperor<sup>o</sup>. *Eginhard*, who was *Charlemagne's* Secretary, and had probably attended him to *Rome*, assures us, that he was no ways privy to the Design of the Pope and the *Roman* People; nay, and that far from being pleased with, or proud of his new Dignity, he declared, that had he foreseen, or in the least suspected what had happened, he would have forborne appearing at Church even on so solemn a Day. However that be, certain it is, that he would never afterwards part with that Title; but strove, with frequent Embassies and Letters filled with the kindest Expressions, to appease the Emperors of the East complaining of his assuming it as an unsufferable Usurpation; nay in the very Letters he wrote to them on that Subject he constantly stiled them his Brothers, as being equal in Dignity to them<sup>p</sup>.

His Promotion no Argument of the temporal Supremacy of the Pope.

The Translation, as it is called, of the Empire from the *Greeks* to the *French* is alleged by the two great Champions of the Papacy *Baronius* and *Bellarmino* as an indisputable Instance of the temporal Supremacy of the Pope, or of the supreme and unlimited Power they vest in the Pope over all Princes and Kingdoms: And in that Instance both Authors triumph, as if *Leo* had really exercised such a Power,

<sup>a</sup> Anast. in Leon. III. vit. Carol. Aimoin. l. 5. c. 6. Eginhard. in vit. Carol.

<sup>o</sup> Annal. Franc. ad ann. 801. Monach. Engolif. in Ado in Chron. ætat. 6. Gofrid. Viterb. in Chron. <sup>p</sup> Eginhard. ad ann. 801.

and

and exercised it with the Approbation of all Christian Princes, since *Charles* was acknowledged by all for true and lawful Emperor upon his being raised to that Dignity by the Pope<sup>9</sup>. But to make it undeniably appear that no such Power was, on the present Occasion, exercised by *Leo*, I need only observe, that in promoting *Charlemagne* to the Imperial Dignity he took nothing from *Irene*, who then governed the Empire, gave nothing to the new Emperor but the bare Name or Title of Emperor. Had he deposed *Irene*, had he divested her of her Dominions, and given them to *Charles*, and he had thereupon been acknowledged by all the Christian Princes for lawful Emperor both of the East and the West, he would indeed, in that Case, have exercised the pretended Supremacy; and such a Translation of the Empire might well be alleged as an Instance of the Power they vest in him of disposing at his Pleasure of Kingdoms and Empires. But as he neither deposed *Irene*, nor took any Dominions from her, or gave any to *Charles*, but only revived in him, and not even that by his own Authority alone, the extinct Title of Emperor of the West, to pretend that by thus translating the Empire, he exercised the Power of disposing of Kingdoms and Empires, is pretending that he exercised such a Power, when he did not dispose of a single Foot of Ground. *Charles* possessed more extensive Dominions before he was raised to the Empire, than had been possessed by any Emperor of the West ever since the Division of the Empire. He held, by Right of Succession or by Conquest, all *Gaul*, Part of *Spain*, all *Italy*, from the *Alps* to *Calabria*, *Istria*, *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* now *Hungary*, all *Dacia* comprising *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, *Transylvania*, and, what no Emperor had ever held before him, that vast Tract of Country lying between the *Rhine* and the *Vistula*, between the Northern Ocean and the *Danube*. These extensive Dominions he possessed when he was yet only stiled King; and it is not even pretended; that he acquired a single Foot of Ground more, or Right to a single Foot of Ground more, by being stiled Emperor. Had *Leo* therefore given him that Title by his own Authority alone, it would not follow from thence that he had, or that he exercised any kind of Power over the temporal Dominions of Princes.

But that not even the bare Title of Emperor was conferred on him by the Authority of the Pope alone, but by the Authority of the *Roman People* as well as by that of the Pope, is manifest from the

Year of  
Christ 800.

The Pope only  
gave him the  
bare Title of  
Emperor.

And not even  
that by his  
own Authority alone.

<sup>9</sup> Bar. ad. Ann. 800. Bellar. de Translat. Rom. Imper. l. i. c. 4.



Year of  
Christ 800.

Account all the contemporary Historians give us of that Transaction. The Pope, says the anonymous Annalist quoted above, the other Bishops, that is the *French* and *Italian* Bishops then in *Rome*, and the whole *Roman* People thought it proper and just, that *Charles* should be distinguished with the Title of Emperor; and he being, at their Request and Desire, consecrated by *Leo*, took upon him the Title of Emperor. *Anastasius* writes, that the Pope having placed a Crown on his Head, the whole People of *Rome* cried out three Times to *Charles Augustus* Life and Victory, and that he was thereby appointed Emperor of the *Romans*; so that it was not by the Pope alone, according to *Anastasius*, that the Title of Emperor was given him, or that he was appointed Emperor of the *Romans*, but by the Pope and the People: Nay, twenty Writers and more, quoted by the learned *Du Pin*, ascribe the raising of *Charlemagne* to the Imperial Dignity, or the conferring on him the Title of Emperor, to the Senate and the People of *Rome*, without so much as ever once mentioning the Pope.

In what  
Sense Charles  
may be said  
to have been  
made Empe-  
ror by the  
Pope.

Some *Greek* Writers indeed, quoted by *Bellarmino*, tell us, that *Charles* was made Emperor by *Leo*; but from the Context it is plain they meant no more than that he was by *Leo* crowned and anointed Emperor; which are but mere Ceremonies, that may well suppose, but never can give any kind of Title or Right without the previous Consent of the People. Besides, *Leo* may be properly said to have preferred *Charlemagne* to the Empire, tho' he did not prefer him by his own Authority, but by that of the People, acting in their Name, and as their Representative. He may likewise be said to have made him Emperor as they, who formerly first proposed the Emperors, and made Interest in their Behalf, were said to have made them, tho' properly speaking they were made or chosen by the People, or Soldiery. What *Bellarmino* adds, viz. that *Charlemagne* did not acquire the Empire, is true, if by the Empire he means the bare Title of Emperor; but false, if he means such Dominions or Territories as gave him a Claim to that Title. These he acquired; but tho' possessed of Dominions far more extensive than those, that composed the western Empire even in its most flourishing State, he did not take upon him the Title of Emperor till it was given him by the People of *Rome*, and the Pope executing their Will, or acting, in their Name, as the first and chief Man of the City.

*Du Pin*. de Antiq. Eccles. Dissert. 7. p. 521.

*Bellar.* ubi supra.

But

## Leo III. BISHOPS of Rome.

157

But *Charlemagne*, says *Bellarmino*, having, by his last Will, divided the Empire amongst his Children, would have *Leo* to confirm it, lest he should seem to deliver, without his Consent, that Empire to others, for which he was indebted to him. On the other Hand *Baronius* pretends, that he did not dispose of the Empire at all, thereby to show that the Power of disposing of it was not vested in him, but in the Pope. But that *Charlemagne* was not indebted to the Pope alone for the Empire, or rather for the Title of Emperor, has been shown already; and that he disposed of it some Months before his Death, taking his Son *Lewis*, King of *Aquitaine*, for his Partner in the Empire, and causing him to be crowned Emperor, is attested by *Eginhard* and *Theganus*, who lived both at that very Time<sup>\*</sup>. He consulted indeed, on that Occasion, the Barons of his Kingdom, and required their Approbation and Consent, having assembled them for that Purpose at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; but it does not appear, that he consulted the Pope, or so much as acquainted him with his Design. It is true, as *Baronius* observes, that *Charlemagne* did not dispose of the Empire, or of the Imperial Dignity, in the Will he made in 806. But it was not because he thought it belonged to the Pope to dispose of it, since he afterwards disposed of it without the Knowledge of the Pope; but because he had not yet determined with himself, whether he should bequeath it to *Pepin* as King of *Italy*, or to *Charles* as the eldest of his Children (H).

Year of  
Christ 800.  
He disposed  
of the Empire  
or Imperial  
Dignity  
without the  
Consent of the  
Pope.

*Charlemagne*, now Emperor, passed the remaining Part of the Winter at *Rome*, regulating, says the *Loiselian* Annalist<sup>u</sup>, the Affairs both of the State and the Church; made many rich Presents to most of the Churches, especially to those of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and taking Leave of the Pope on the 25th of *April*, repaired to *Spoleti*, from thence to *Pavia*, and from *Pavia* to *France*. At *Pavia* he added several Laws to those of the *Lombards*, who had been hitherto governed by their own Laws only, and, in Imitation of the eastern Emperors, began to mark in all his Laws, Diplomas and Edicts,

He returns  
to France.  
Year of  
Christ 801.

<sup>\*</sup> Eginhard. ad ann. 813. Thegan. de Gest. Ludovic. Pii c. 6.  
Lois. ad ann. 801.

<sup>u</sup> Annal.

(H) It is to be observed, that tho' the Promotion of *Charlemagne* to the Imperial Dignity happened on the 25th of *December* of the Year 800, it is generally placed by the *French* Historians under the Year 801, the 25th of *December*, or Christmas-day, being with them the first Day of the Year. For the same Reason Pope *Hadrian*, who died on the 25th of *December* 795, is said by *Marianus Scotus* to have died in 796, and on the first Day of that Year.

the

Year of  
Christ 801.

Constantine  
resolves to di-  
vest his Mo-  
ther of her  
usurped  
Power.

the Years of his Empire and those of his Consulate, and likewise the Indiction never before used by him, or by any of his Ancestors.

While the Empire was thus revived in the West, it was near utterly destroyed in the East by the unbounded Ambition of the Woman, who governed it. *Irene*, a most zealous Advocate for the Worship of Images, but with all her Zeal and Devotion the most ambitious, nay, and the most wicked of Women, had ruled, during the Minority of her Son *Constantine*, with an absolute Sway; and with the same Sway she continued to rule, when he was no longer a Minor, taking the first Place in all public Ceremonies, signing all public Acts before him, making War, concluding Treaties of Peace, disposing of all Preferments both ecclesiastic and civil without so much as acquainting him therewith, as if he still were a Minor or Infant. The young Emperor, finding himself thus excluded from all Share in the Government, and consequently left only with a small Number of Domestics, while the Levée of *Stauracius*, the Empress's Prime Minister, was daily crowded with Persons of the highest Distinction, he resolved to emancipate himself, and degrading both his unnatural Mother and her favourite Minister, take the Reins of Government into his own Hands. This Resolution he imparted to some of the Officers of his Court; and it was agreed among them, that the Emperor should declare in full Senate, that being of Age, he was resolved thenceforth to govern of himself, and assume that Power, which others had engrossed, tho' he alone was entitled to it by his Birth and the known Laws of the Empire, and that after this Declaration *Irene* and *Stauracius* should both be arrested and confined for Life to the Island of *Sicily*.

His Design  
discovered  
and all con-  
cerned in it  
severely pu-  
nished.

But this Resolution was no sooner taken than discovered, most of the Emperor's Domestics being retained by *Stauracius*, and ready to earn his Favour at the Expence of their Master and Sovereign. The Plot, or Conspiracy, as it was called, being thus discovered, all, who had been any-ways concerned in it, or privy to it, were, by *Irene's* Order, apprehended, most cruelly beaten, stript of all their Effects, and banished to *Sicily*, whither they proposed banishing her and her Minister. As for the young Emperor, the enraged Mother reprimanded him with the utmost Severity, and not without Blows, treating him as a Child, and confining him, as wanting in the Respect, that was due to her, to an Apartment in the Palace. While he was thus kept closely confined, she prevailed with her Largeesses on the  
venal

venal Soldiery, and their more venal Officers to take an Oath of Allegiance to her, by which they bound themselves to maintain her in the full Possession of the Power she had enjoyed, during the Minority of her Son, to obey her in all Things, and to acknowledge no other Master or Sovereign but her. That Oath all took but the Troops of *Armenia*, who rejected it, as the young Empress, the Wife of *Constantine*, was a Native of that Country, with the utmost Indignation, declaring that the Emperor was now of Age, and he alone their lawful Sovereign; that no other had a Right to command them, and they would obey no other, much less a Woman. *Irene*, apprehending their Example might influence the rest of the Army, dispatched, in great Haste, an Officer of her Guards, named *Alexis*, with large Sums to gain them. But *Alexis* was himself gained by them; nay, and putting himself at their Head marched strait to *Constantinople*, <sup>*Irene never entered the City without Opposition, the Troops quartered there being ashamed of the Oath they had taken, set the Emperor at Liberty, and placed him on the Throne amidst the loud Acclamations both of the People and the Soldiery.*</sup> *Irene never- theless deposed and Constantine placed on the Throne.*

*Constantine*, thus placed on the Throne, began his Government <sup>*Treats his Mother with Kindness and Respect.*</sup> with banishing *Stauracius*, his Mother's Prime Minister, into *Armenia*, and causing her favourite Eunuchs to be publicly beaten with Rods, and confined to the most inhospitable Places of the Empire: As for *Irene*, he led her himself, with great Respect, out of the Palace, and attended her in Person to a House, which she had built, and in which was lodged the immense Treasure she had amassed, during her long Administration. He assured her that no Injury should ever be offered her, but that she should, on the contrary, be always treated with the greatest Respect, as Empress, and the Emperor's Mother. In the mean Time the *Bulgarians* breaking into the Empire, the Emperor marched against them in Person, engaged them, but was entirely defeated. He was soon after defeated anew by the *Saracens* with the Loss of all his best Officers, and the Flower of his Army. These Misfortunes the Friends of *Irene* took Care to improve to her Advantage, extolling her Wisdom, her Abilities, her Experience in public Affairs, and entreating the Emperor, out of a pretended Friendship for him, to advise with her at so critical a Juncture, since none in the whole Empire was capable of assisting him <sup>*Recalls to Court both her and her favourite former Minister.*</sup> with better Advice. *Constantine* fell into the Snare. For he was not only reconciled to her, but recalled her to Court, restored her to her

Year of  
Christ 801.

She procures  
the Disgrace  
and the Ruin  
of all his true  
Friends.

former Authority, caused her to be proclaimed Empress anew, and even suffered himself to be persuaded by her to recall *Stauracius*, and admit him to his Confidence. And now *Irene*, having one ready to second her in all her ambitious and wicked Designs, made it her Study to deprive him of all his true Friends, and put him upon such Measures as she well knew would render him odious both to the People and Soldiery. Thus, by her Advice, he not only caused the Eyes of his Uncle *Nicephorus* to be put out upon his being told, that Part of the Army had formed a Design of raising him to the Throne, but commanded the Tongues of his other four Uncles *Christopher*, *Nicetas*, *Anthimus*, and *Euodimus* to be plucked out, tho' none of them was any-ways privy to, or concerned in the Plot. He was indebted, as we have seen, to *Alexis* and the Troops of *Armenia* for his Liberty, and the Power he enjoyed. They were entirely devoted to him, and had therefore opposed the Restoration of *Irene*, and would not obey her when restored by him to her former Authority. To be revenged therefore on them, and at the same Time to remove out of the Way the best, if not the only true Friends the unhappy Emperor had in the whole Empire, the wicked Mother found Means to persuade him, that *Alexis* affected the Crown, that he had already formed a considerable Party, and only waited for a favourable Opportunity to put in Execution his wicked Design. Hereupon *Alexis* was immediately seized, and his eyes were put out, neither he himself, nor any of his Friends being allowed to speak a single Word in Defence of his Innocence. Such Barbarity, such crying Injustice provoked the Troops of *Armenia* to such a Degree, that openly revolting not from *Constantine*, they said, but from *Irene*, they refused to obey the Officer, whom the Emperor had, at her instigation, appointed to command them. *Irene*, glad of so plausible a Pretence to wreak her Vengeance on that loyal Corps, persuaded the Emperor to treat them as Rebels; and a strong Detachment was sent against them. They defended themselves with great Resolution and Bravery, but being, in the End, overpowered, the Officers were all put to Death, and the Soldiers led in Chains to *Constantinople*, and conveyed from thence into different Islands.

Advices him  
to divorce his  
lawful Wife  
and marry  
one of her  
Maids.

In the mean Time *Irene*, who watched every Opportunity of exposing the Emperor, observing that he betrayed a violent Passion for one of her Maids named *Theodora*, resolved to improve that Passion to her Advantage, and persuade the unwary Prince to divorce his

lawful Wife, and take *Theodota* to his Bed in her Room. This she knew she could easily compass, as the Emperor had no kind of Affection for the present Empress, whom she herself had forced him to marry against his Inclination; and she was, on the other Hand, well apprised that such a Step would occasion no small Scandal, would give no small Offence to the Clergy as well as the People, and be, in the End, probably attended with great Disturbances, which she wanted neither Skill nor Address to improve. Having therefore one Day, in a private Conversation with the Emperor, taken Notice of the great Regard he had for *Theodota*, she told him that his Affections were not misplaced; that *Theodota* well deserved, not so much on account of the Charms of her Person, as for her many other good Qualities, all the Regard and Esteem he showed for her; that she heartily repented her having persuaded him to marry one, in every Respect, so much inferior to her; one with whom she was now sensible he could never taste the Happiness of a social Life, the greatest Happiness Heaven could indulge in this World. She added, that the Evil she had done was not however without a Remedy; that he was vested with an absolute Power; that none dared to controul him, and he therefore might drive from, or take to his Bed, whom he pleased. As this wicked Suggestion was entirely agreeable to his Inclination, he readily complied with it, resolving that Moment, without reflecting on the Consequences, to divorce his lawful Wife, and marry his beloved *Theodota* in her Room. However, to save Appearances, he applied to the Patriarch *Tarasus*, requiring him to declare his former Marriage null, to perform the nuptial Ceremony on occasion of his new Marriage, and to give the Veil to the Empress *Mary*, who, to save her Life, had consented to exchange the Imperial Crown with a Veil, the Emperor pretending, without the least Foundation, that she had attempted to poison him, and threatening her with an ignominious Death, if she did not retire to a Monastery. The Patriarch remonstrated, with great Zeal, against the intended Marriage, as forbidden both by the Laws of God and the Empire, and alleging several Passages of Scripture to prove the Unlawfulness of it, boldly declared, *The Patriarch so far gained as not to oppose that adulterous Marriage.* that he would be no-ways accessory, nor suffer any of his Clergy to be accessory to so wicked an Action. To this Resolution he kept firm and inflexible till the Emperor, recollecting how zealous and active he had been in restoring the holy Images, threatened to turn *Iconoclast* if he did not comply; to abrogate the Acts of the Council

Year of  
Christ 801.

of *Nice*, and cause the Images, which he had taken so much Pains to set up, to be all pulled down, to be cast out of the Churches and broken. Here the Firmness and Constancy of the Patriarch failed him; and he was some Time at a Loss what Party to take. But concluding in the End, that of two Evils he might chuse, with a safe Conscience, the least, he resolved no longer to oppose the adulterous Marriage, since he could by no other Means rescue the holy Images, and with them the Christian Religion, from the Danger that threatened them. Forbearing therefore all further Remonstrances, he allowed the Abbot of a Monastery in *Constantinople* to perform the Marriage Ceremony, and his own Catechist to give the Veil to the Empress *Mary*; nay, and admitted the Emperor to the Eucharist and to his Communion, tho' living, even according to him, in the State of Adultery.

Two famous  
Monks separated them-  
selves from  
the Commu-  
nion of the  
Patriarch  
and the Em-  
peror.

The Conduct of *Tarasius* gave great Offence to many, who, tho' no less desirous than he of preserving the holy Images, thought nevertheless that so open a Breach of the Divine Law should not have been even connived at to preserve them; that it was quite as criminal in the Patriarch to have allowed any of his Clergy to marry the Emperor, and veil the degraded Empress, as if he had performed both Ceremonies himself; that to admit one to the Eucharist, to communicate with one, who lived in the State of Adultery, was not barely conniving at his Crime, but approving it. At the Head of those, who thus complained of the Conduct of the Patriarch, were the two famous Monks *Plato* and *Theodore*, both reputed great Saints, and highly revered by the People. They not satisfied with loudly condemning the unlawful, the adulterous, the wicked and scandalous Marriage of the Emperor, openly separated themselves from his Communion, as no longer a Member of the Church, and from the Communion of the Patriarch too, as no less guilty than he. This occasioned great Disturbances in the Church of *Constantinople*, *Irene* stirring up the Emperor under-hand against the Monks, and at the same Time the Monks against the Emperor. At her Instigation *Constantine* ordered the two Monks to be seized, caused *Theodore* to be most cruelly beaten, and sent both into Exile with all the Monks, who, adhering to them, did not approve of his Marriage. *Irene*, tho' the chief Author of all this Severity, was the first to complain of it, taxing the Emperor with Cruelty, and extolling the Virtue of the holy Men, whom he persecuted with so much Barbarity merely on account of their Virtue. As the two Monks were revered by all

And are at  
the Instiga-  
tion of *Irene*  
severely pu-  
nished by the  
Emperor.

as great Saints, *Irene*, by pretending to espouse their Cause, gained the Affections of the People, and at the same Time estranged them, what she had chiefly in her View, from the Emperor. Year of  
Christ 801.

Her next Care was to gain the Soldiery; and in order to that she laid hold of the following Opportunity. The new Empress being delivered of a Son, while the Emperor was using, with his Mother, the Baths of *Prusia* in *Bithynia*, he repassed the Straits, as soon as he received the joyful Tidings, with a small Retinue, leaving his Mother with the rest of the Court in *Bithynia*. In his Absence, *Irene* privately applied to such of the Officers of the Army as seemed to her the most dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Emperor, and having with large Sums and great Promises gained them, and by their Means most of the rest, she engaged them to bind themselves by an Oath to depose *Constantine*, and place her on the Imperial Throne in his Room. In the mean Time News being brought, that the *Saracens* had broken into the Empire, *Constantine* marched against them in Person at the Head of 20000 chosen Troops. Under him commanded *Stauracius*, who, concluding from the Ardor he observed in the Soldiery that should they engage the Enemy, nothing could prevent their gaining a complete Victory, resolved to deprive the Emperor, by some Means or other, of that Glory. Having therefore assembled with that View, some of the chief Officers of his Party, and represented to them, that should they engage the Enemy, a complete Victory would undoubtedly be the Issue of the Engagement; that such a Victory would recommend the Emperor to the Love and Esteem of the People as well as the Soldiery, and consequently defeat their Design, it was resolved, that an Engagement should by all Means, be prevented. Pursuant to that Resolution *Stauracius*, pretending to send out Scouts to reconnoitre the Situation and Strength of the Enemy, commanded them to report, on their Return, that the *Saracens*, struck with a Panic, at the Approach of the Emperor, had all retired in Confusion, and that not one of them was any-where to be seen in the Field. This proved a great Disappointment to the Emperor; and he returned under the greatest Concern to *Constantinople*, which he had flattered himself he should have entered in Triumph. Irene gains  
some of the  
chief Officers  
of the army.

On his Return he met with a very cold Reception from the People. To amuse them therefore, and in some Degree reconcile them to him, he resolved to entertain them with public Shows, and the



Year of  
Christ 801.

Day being appointed, on which they were to be exhibited, the 17th of *June* 797, *Irene* and the Conspirators chose that very Day for the Execution of their Design; and it was agreed, that they should seize the Emperor as he returned from the Circus. But he, having either received private Intelligence of their Design, or suspecting it from their attempting to surround him on all Sides, snatched himself from them, riding full Speed, as he was on Horse-back, to the Port, where he threw himself into a Boat, and passing the Straits that Moment, arrived safe at *Pyle* in *Bithynia*, where some of the eastern Legions were quartered, on whose Fidelity he knew he might safely rely. The News of his Escape threw *Irene*, and the rest of the Conspirators into the utmost Confusion. They all concluded the Conspiracy was discovered; and *Irene*, looking upon herself as lost, began to think of applying to the Bishops, who all adored her on account of her Zeal for Images, and trying to obtain, by their Means, Leave to retire from the World, and pass undisturbed the rest of her Life in a Monastery. But in the mean Time another Expedient, more agreeable to her Inclination, occurring to her, she thought it advisable to delay applying to the Bishops till she found what Success might attend it. This was to persuade, if by any Means she could, such of the Conspirators as had attended the Emperor in his Flight, and of whom he entertained not the least Distrust, to attempt the Execution of their Design. With that View she wrote to them by one, in whom she could confide, threatening to discover the whole Plot, and all, who were concerned in it, if they did not, as she was very confident they might if their Courage did not fail them, seize on the Emperor, and bring him Prisoner to *Constantinople*. As for herself, she said she wanted not Friends to intercede for her, to whose Intercession the Emperor, however provoked, could not but pay great Regard, especially when backed with filial Duty, which they would take Care to revive. But as for them, Death must be their Lot, and a most cruel and ignominious Death; and she therefore conjured them, as they were reduced to the Alternative of destroying the Emperor, or being destroyed by him, to summon all their Courage, and put him out of a Condition of hurting them, promising to reward them, if they succeeded, as she did not doubt they would, with the first Employments and Dignities of the Empire. This Letter made a deep Impression on their Minds; and the Danger they were in inspiring them with Courage, they resolved, at a private Meeting to bribe the

Guards

His Guards  
bribed by  
*Irene* and he  
seized by them  
and brought  
Prisoner to  
*Constanti-*  
*nople*.

Guards at any Rate, and entering the Emperor's Bed-chamber in the Night, to seize him, to carry him on board a Vessel, and conveying him to *Constantinople*, deliver him up, unhurt by them, into the Hands of *Irene*. Every Thing succeeded to their Wish: The Guards were easily gained, and the Conspirators, entering the Room, seized on the Emperor, whom they found on his Knees at his Prayers, and carried him, on board a Vessel prepared for that Purpose, to *Constantinople*. They arrived early in the Morning, and having immediately acquainted *Irene* with their Arrival, they received an Order from her to shut up their Prisoner in the Apartment of the Imperial Palace called *Porphyra*, that being the most remote from the Street. He had been there but a few Hours when the barbarous Mother, having first advised with *Stauracius* and the rest of the Conspirators, ordered his Eyes to be put out; and they were accordingly put out in so cruel a Manner, that he died soon after in the utmost Agony. Upon his Death *Irene* was proclaimed Empress: And thus, what had never before happened, did the Empire fall to the Disstaff.

This is the Account the contemporary Historians all give us of the Usurpation of *Irene*<sup>w</sup>, a Woman, if such an Apostate from Nature deserves the Name of a Woman, famous in History for aspiring, by an Ambition unprecedented in her Sex, to the Empire, but far more infamous for the Methods she pursued to attain it. And yet this Monster of Wickedness, as she was a zealous Promoter of the Worship of Images, wanted not her Panegyrist amongst the holy Men of those Days; nor does she want her Advocates amongst the Writers of later Times. *Theodorus Studita* (1), the greatest Saint of that Age, styles her an excellent Princess, a Woman beloved of God, and extols her as the most religious, as the most virtuous of Women<sup>x</sup>. The Monk *Michael* in his Life of that Saint gives us, in the following Words, an Account of the present Revolution. *Constantine*, says he, being deprived first of his Eye-sight, which he had misused, and afterwards of the Empire, his pious Mother *Irene* resumed the Government; and *Theophanes*, speaking of the Revolution, that hap-

<sup>w</sup> Theoph. in Chron. Theod. Studit. in vit. Taras. Mich. in vit. Theod. Studit. Cedren, &c. <sup>x</sup> Theod. apud Bar. ad ann. 801. <sup>y</sup> Mich. in vit. Theod. Studit.

(1) He was afterwards appointed Abbot of the famous Monastery founded by the Consul *Studius* in the Suburbs of *Constantinople*; and from thence he took the Name of *Studita*.

Year of  
Christ 801.

opened soon after, when *Irene* was deposed, and *Nicephorus* raised to the Empire in her room, ascribes the deposing of the *most pious Irene* to the Sins of the People<sup>z</sup>; nay she has even a Place, in the Menology of the *Greeks*; amongst the Saints; and the 13th of *August* is with them the Anniversary of *St. Irene*. To worship Images, to promote that Worship was with the Writers of those Days, the Height of all Perfection, atoned for the blackest Crimes, and turned the greatest Monsters of Wickedness into Saints. On the contrary not to worship Images, to oppose that Worship, was with them Sacrilege, Heresy, the Height of all Wickedness, and turned Men, in all other Respects of unblemished Characters, into Monsters of Iniquity.

Her unna-  
tural Cruelty  
not only ex-  
cused but jus-  
tified by Ba-  
ronius.

Amongst the modern Writers *Baronius* undertakes not only to excuse, but to justify the Cruelty of that inhuman Monster to her Son. What he says on that Head I shall deliver in his own Words. “Snares, says he under the Year 796, were laid this Year for the Emperor *Constantine* by his Mother *Irene*, which he fell into the Year following, and was deprived at the same Time of his Eyes and his Life. An execrable Crime indeed, had she not been prompted to it by her Zeal for Justice. On that Consideration she even deserved to be commended for what she did. But it was not by her Command he suffered: She only ordered him to be restrained and deprived of his Power, which was snatching a Sword out of the Hand of a mad Man. Christ has taught us that it is great Piety to be, on such an Occasion, cruel to a Son, saying, *he that loveth Son or Daughter more than me is not worthy of me*<sup>a</sup>, and, *think not that I came to send Peace on Earth; I came not to send Peace, but a Sword*<sup>b</sup>. In more ancient Times the Hands of Parents were armed, by God’s Command, against their Children worshipping strange Gods, and they, who killed them, were commended by *Moses* saying, *you have consecrated to Day your Hands to the Lord, even every Man upon his Son and his Father*, (whom they killed) *that he may bestow upon you a Blessing*<sup>c</sup>. It matters much with what Intention a Person acts. Had *Irene*, out of Ambition or a Desire of reigning, plotted against her Son, she had thereby rendered herself more detestable even than *Agrippina*, the Mother of *Nero*, who chose her Son should reign even at the

<sup>a</sup> Theoph. ad ann. 803.  
32. ver. 27, 29.

<sup>b</sup> Mat. 10. ver. 37.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. ver. 34.

Exod.

“ Expence of her own Life. For being foretold by a Soothsayer, <sup>Year of</sup> that if he ever reigned, he would kill his Mother, she is said to <sup>Christ 801.</sup> have answered, let him kill her on Condition he reigns, *occidat modo imperet*. But as *Irene* was supposed to have done what she did, (that is, to have deposed her Son, who alone had a Right to reign, and murdered him) for the Sake of Religion, and Love of Justice, she was still thought by the eastern Writers, who were Eye-witnesses of the Fact, and Men of great Sanctity, worthy of Praise and Commendation<sup>d</sup>.” Thus does the Annalist strive to clear that Monster of Cruelty and Wickedness, nay and blasphemously to justify from the Old and New Testament, and the Doctrine of our Saviour, one of the most horrid Murders we read of in History. But that *Constantine* was not only seized and confined, as the Annalist pretends, but deprived of his Eyes by the Command of his Mother, is attested by *Theophanes*, one of the holy Men, whom *Baronius* supposes to have been Eye-witnesses of the Fact. *They put out his Eyes*, says that Writer, *by the Advice of his Mother and her Counsellors, with so much Cruelty, that he immediately expired*<sup>e</sup>. He adds, that the Sun was darkened for 17 Days, Heaven punishing with so long a Darkness those, who had for ever deprived their Sovereign of the Comfort of Light. To suppose with the holy Men of those Days, that the unnatural Mother was prompted by her Love of Justice, and Zeal for Religion, to conspire against her Son and her Sovereign, to depose and to murder him, is supposing she was prompted by her Love of Justice to commit the most crying Injustice, and by her Zeal for Religion the blackest of Crimes. Her Love of Justice, her Zeal for Religion would have prompted her, had she had any, to divert her Son with her good Advice from abusing his Power, whereas from History it appears, that he never abused it, that in no Instance whatever he acted contrary to Religion or to Justice but by her Advice and at her Instigation. Had she plotted against her Son out of a Desire of reigning in his Room, she had been, even according to *Baronius*, more detestable than *Agrippina*: But that she did plot against him, that she deposed and murdered him out of a Desire of reigning in his Room, is as certain, if in History there is any Certainty, as it is certain that she reigned; and consequently that she was more detestable than *Agrippina*. Indeed I see not why the Annalist should have thought of comparing

<sup>d</sup> Bar. ad ann. 796. p. 482.<sup>e</sup> Theoph. ad ann. Iren. iterum Imper. 1.

Year of  
Christ 801.

at all *Irene* to *Agrippina*, or *Agrippina* to *Irene*, since the one sacrificed her own Life to the Desire she had that her Son should reign; which might have been owing to an unparalleled Fondness, as well as to Ambition; whereas the other sacrificed the Life of her Son to the Desire she had of reigning herself, which can only be ascribed to the most criminal Ambition, and the most unnatural Cruelty. As to the Passages alleged by *Baronius* out of the Scriptures, to pretend by them to excuse, or to justify a Mother murdering her Son is wantonly abusing the Scriptures, and next to Blasphemy. The Meaning of our Saviour's Words is obvious, *viz.* that we are not to suffer ourselves to be diverted from his Service, or from following him, by our Attachment to our Parents or nearest Relations. It was by the express Command of God, delivered by *Moses*, that the Parents put their Children to Death worshipping strange Gods, and the Children their Parents; and the Annalist, I suppose, does not pretend that the like Command was given to *Irene*. But there is no Wickedness, no Crime however enormous, that he had not rather excuse and even sanctify, than allow one, who deserved so well of Images, and the Worshippers of Images, to be guilty of any.

Upon the  
Death of  
Constantine  
several aspire  
to the Empire.

*Irene*, having seized on the Empire in the Manner we have seen, made it her Study to gain the Affections of the Soldiery and the People, of the Soldiery by Largeesses, of the People by remitting or lessening the Taxes, and pretending great Zeal for the Worship of Images. But as the Royal Family was extinct, *Constantine* having, at the Instigation of his Mother, put all to Death, who had, from their Birth, any Claim to the Crown, the Nobility were all underhand busy in forming Parties, and contriving the Means of raising themselves to the Empire, for which each of them thought himself better qualified than a Woman. *Stauracius*, *Irene's* favourite Minister, had gained great Part of the Army with a Design of deposing her, and placing himself on the Throne in her Room. But he dying before his Design was quite ripe for Execution, an Eunuch, named *Actius*, in whom *Irene* placed an entire Confidence, and whom she had raised to the Rank of Patrician, undertook to get his Brother *Leo* preferred to the Imperial Dignity, being excluded from it himself as an Eunuch. He had procured, with that View, the Government of *Thrace* and *Macedon* for his Brother as well as the Command of the Troops quartered in those two Provinces, and engaged, by his Generosity, the rest of the Army to second, when an Opportunity

tunity offered, his ambitious Designs. Depending upon them he began to act more like a Sovereign than a Subject, disposing of all the Employments both civil and military to his Friends without consulting *Irene*, or so much as acquainting her with it. His Conduct gave her great Umbrage; but suspecting all about her alike, she resolved to recur to *Charlemagne*, who, she was informed, had been lately proclaimed by the *Romans* Emperor of the West; to conclude, upon the best Terms she could, a Treaty of Alliance and Friendship with that warlike Prince, and engage him by that Means to maintain her on the Throne. This Resolution she took the more readily, as *Charlemagne* was then making great military Preparations with a Design, as was believed, to invade the Island of *Sicily*, and it was publicly said at *Constantinople* that so important a War required an Emperor. The Person she chose to employ on that Occasion, and send into *France* was *Leo*, Captain of her Guards; and as in him she placed an entire Confidence, she privately charged him to propose a Marriage between her and *Charlemagne*, not that she intended such a Marriage should ever take Place, but hoping she should thus not only divert him from making War on the Empire, which she was sensible would end in her Ruin, but engage him to espouse her Cause, and undertake, with great Zeal, her Protection against all her Enemies both domestic and foreign. The Proposal was quite unexpected, but received, as we may well imagine, by *Charlemagne* with the greatest Satisfaction. To marry *Irene* was uniting at once both Empires in his Person, and acquiring more extensive Dominions, without striking a Blow, than he could promise himself from a long War however successful. He therefore not only consented to so advantageous a Proposal, but impatient to see himself vested with so extensive a Power, he sent back with the Ambassador, whom he had entertained for some Time with the greatest Magnificence, *Jesse*, Bishop of *Amiens*, and a Count named *Helingaude*, to remove the Difficulties, that might be started at the Court of *Constantinople* to obstruct the Match, and put the last Hand, in his Name, to the Treaty. His Ambassadors were accompanied by a Nuncio from the Pope, who, being acquainted by him with the Proposal of *Irene*, was no less impatient than he to see it brought to a happy Issue, sensible that were *Charlemagne* Master of the eastern Empire, he should, under him, hold undisturbed his temporal Dominions in *Italy*, which the *Greeks* still claimed, and at the same Time see his Authority,

Year of  
Christ 801.

*Irene recurs  
to Charle-  
magne.*

*Causes a  
Marriage to  
be proposed  
between him  
and her.*

Year of  
Christ 801.

rity, which was but very little regarded in the East, as much respected there, even by his haughty Rival the Patriarch of the Imperial City, as it was respected by all in the West.

The great  
Lords of the  
Empire  
alarmed at  
the Proposal.

The Embassadors were, in Appearance, received by *Irene* with uncommon Marks of Joy; and without Loss of Time they entered, in Conjunction with the Pope's Nuncio, upon the Subject of their Embassy. They proposed a Marriage between the Empress of the East, and the Emperor of the West, and an Union of the two Empires as highly advantageous to both. The Proposal alarmed *Aetius*, and all the great Lords of the Court, well apprised that such a Marriage, should it ever take Place, as they apprehended it might, not being privy to the true Design of *Irene*, would defeat all their Measures at once, and leave them no Hopes of raising themselves, even upon her Demise, to the Throne. They therefore left nothing unattempted they could think of to divert her from hearkening to a Proposal, which they said she could not agree to without exposing herself to the Danger of forfeiting the Power she at present enjoyed, and with it the Crown; since the King of the *Franks*, accustomed to govern alone, would engross the whole Power to himself, and the *Greeks*, however pleased with her Administration, would chuse rather to drive her from the Throne, than suffer themselves to be thus excluded from the Imperial Dignity, and governed by a Stranger, nay by an open and avowed Enemy both to them and the Empire. But *Irene* still pretending, chiefly with a Design to awe the Eunuch *Aetius*, who ruled with an absolute Sway, to be rather inclined than averse to the proposed Marriage, several of the Nobility, thinking they could by no other Means, but by deposing her, prevent their being governed either by a Stranger, or an Eunuch, resolved to depose her accordingly, and to raise one of their own Body to the Empire in her Room.

Resolved to  
dispose her.  
Year of  
Christ 802.

The Person they chose was the Patrician *Nicephorus*; and having appointed the 30th of *October* for the Execution of their Design, they repaired, in the Evening of that Day, to the great Palace, pretending, as *Irene* did not reside there, that they came from her; that she, no longer able to bear with the insolent and haughty Behaviour of the Eunuch *Aetius*, had resolved, in the End, to take a Partner in the Empire capable of curbing his Insolence; that she had chosen for that Purpose the Patrician *Nicephorus*, and charged them to place him on the Throne. As they were all Persons of the greatest

Distinction, the Soldiery, who guarded the Palace, suspecting no Deceit, not only admitted but joined them, proclaiming, without further Enquiry, *Nicephorus* Emperor. Hereupon proper Persons were immediately dispatched by the Conspirators into the different Quarters of the City with the News of the Election of *Nicephorus*; and they gave every-where out that *Irene* herself had chosen him for her

Year of  
Christ 802.

*Nicephorus*  
raised to the  
Throne and  
solemnly  
crowned.

Partner in the Empire, Thus was *Nicephorus*, before Midnight, acknowledged Emperor by the whole City, and without the least Opposition, the Conspirators having taken Care to place Guards in all the Avenues to the Palace of *Eleutherius*, where the Empress resided, to prevent her from receiving any Intelligence of what passed, or contradicting what they gave out. Early next Morning the new Emperor was solemnly crowned in the Church of *St. Sophia*, a strong Body of Troops being first sent to surround on all Sides the Palace of the Empress, with a strict Charge to suffer none to go out, or to enter it. Thus she was kept closely confined that whole Day under the painful Uncertainty of her Lot, quite ignorant of what passed in the City, but suspecting the worst. The Day following the new Emperor, having caused the Empress to be conveyed, under a strong Guard, to the great Palace, repaired thither attended by almost all the Nobility, and entering the Apartment, to which he had confined her, he addressed her with great outward Respect, telling her, that the Nobility and the People, thinking the Empire should be governed by an Emperor, had offered it to him, and forced him, as those, who attended him, could witness, to accept of the Offer; that he appeared before her without any of the Badges of his new Dignity, and would not assume them without her Consent, and therefore begged she would consent to his wearing them, and at the same Time discover to him the Treasures of the Empire, that he might dispose of them according to the Exigency of the State.

She answered without betraying the least Concern or Uneasiness, that she ascribed the present, as she had done all her other Misfortunes, to her Sins; that since God had been pleased, in his infinite Justice and Wisdom, to depose her, and raise him to the Empire in her Room, she adored his Providence, and readily submitted to his Will; that she begged one Favour, which she flattered herself he would not refuse her, *viz.* that he would allow her to spend the rest of her Days, as a private Person, in the Palace of *Eleutherius*, since she herself had built it, and that upon his promising to comply with

*The Behaviour of Irene on this Occasion.*



Year of  
Christ 802.

that Request, which she hoped he would not think unreasonable, she should discover and deliver up to him, without concealing or reserving for herself the smallest Sum, the Treasures of the Empire. *Nicephorus* bound himself by a solemn Oath to grant her, upon that Condition, her Request. But no sooner had she put him in Possession of the Treasures, than the Emperor apprehending, as he was well acquainted with her unbounded Ambition, her Craft and her intriguing Genius, that notwithstanding her pretended Resignation to the Will of God, she would be ever plotting to recover her former Dignity, the rather, as the Friends of Images were all her Friends, that is, the Bulk of the People and the Clergy, and the whole Body of Monks, to prevent the Disturbances she might raise by their Means, he banished her first to the Isle of *Prince* not far from *Constantinople*, and soon after to that of *Lesbos*, where she died of Grief the following Year, being strictly guarded Day and Night, and none allowed to approach her, or afford her the least Comfort in her Affliction<sup>f</sup>.

She is banished and dies.

Year of  
Christ 803.

*Irene* was, it must be owned, a Woman of most extraordinary Parts, scarce to be matched for her Abilities and Address by any of her own Sex, and by very few of ours; but one, who stuck at nothing, committing without Remorse the blackest Crimes, to gratify her Ambition. Had she with as much Zeal opposed as she promoted the Worship of Images, the unparalleled Wickedness of such a Monster would have supplied the Monkish Writers with ample Matter for Invectives, and she would have met with no Quarter at their Hands. But as she promoted that Superstition, they have not only spared her, but filled their Writings with her Praises, her Zeal for the reigning Superstition counterbalancing with them, and covering the Multitude of her Crimes.

A solemn Embassy sent by the new Emperor to Charlemagne.

This unexpected Revolution happened while the Embassadors, sent by *Charlemagne* to conclude the Marriage between him and *Irene*, were still in *Constantinople*; and it utterly defeated all their Measures, and the ambitious Views of their Master. However the new Emperor was no sooner settled on the Throne than he sent for them, and receiving them in a most obliging Manner, assured them, that he intended ever to maintain a sincere Friendship with the King of the *Franks*; and not satisfied with charging them to acquaint their Master with his pacific Disposition, he sent with them on their Return to *France* a Bishop and three Abbots with the Character of his Em-

<sup>f</sup> Theoph. ad ann. In iter. Iperatric. 5. & Niceph. 1.

assadors,

baffadors, and full Power to conclude a lasting Peace between the two Nations. The Embassadors were well received by *Charlemagne*, and a Peace was concluded on the following Terms: 1. That the *Greeks* should acknowledge *Charlemagne* for Emperor of the West, and allow him that Title. 2. That they should afford no kind of Assistance to the Dukes of *Benevento*, who depending upon their Friendship and Protection were ever raising new Disturbances in *Italy*. 3. That the western Empire should not extend beyond the Dukedom of *Benevento*, and consequently that the remaining Part of *Italy* lying between that Dukedom and the Streights of *Messina*, with the Island of *Sicily*, should belong to the eastern Empire, and be peaceably possessed by *Nicephorus*, and his Successors in the Imperial Thrones.

Year of  
Christ 803.

*Charlemagne* received the Embassadors at *Saltz* in *Alsace*; and while he was yet there News was brought him, that a Sponge was discovered at *Mantua*, steeped in the Blood of our Saviour, which was still fresh, and wrought great Miracles. It was supposed, upon what Foundation I know not, to have been left there by the *Roman* Soldier, who pierced our Saviour's Side with a Spear, and is now honoured in the Church of *Rome* as a Saint under the Name of *Longinus*. This important Piece of Intelligence *Charlemagne* immediately imparted to the Pope, desiring him to repair to *Mantua*, to inquire there into the Truth of the Matter, and acquaint him therewith. In Compliance with his Desire the Pope set out without Delay for *Mantua*, and being on his Arrival there fully satisfied as to the Authenticity of the Relique, (for he himself saw both the Blood and the Sponge, and the same Sponge, or another like it, is seen and worshipped there to this Day) he gave Notice thereof to *Charlemagne*, expressing at the same Time a great Desire to celebrate with him, where-ever he pleased, the Festival of the Nativity of our Saviour. *Charlemagne* chose *Quiercy*, and sending his Son *Charles*, King of *Neustria*, as far as *St. Maurice* in *Valais* to meet his Holiness, he went himself from *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he then was, to *Reims*, received the Pope there with extraordinary Marks of Friendship and Esteem, and went from thence together with him to *Quiercy*. There they kept their Christmas, and both repairing from thence to *Aix*, *Charlemagne* after spending eight Days in that Place

*A miraculous  
Sponge discovered at  
Mantua.*

*Interview  
between the  
Pope and  
Charlemagne.*

8 Eginhard. in vit. Carol. Mag. & Monach. Sangallens. de rebus bellicis Caroli Mag.

Year of  
Christ 803.

with the Pope, dismissed him loaded with rich Presents, and accompanied by some of the chief Nobility, who were ordered to attend him, as he proposed returning through *Bavaria*, as far as *Ravenna*<sup>h</sup>.

The King of  
Northum-  
berland driven  
from his  
Kingdom.

Year of  
Christ 808.

From this Time we find nothing in History of *Leo*, nothing at least worthy of Notice, till the Year 808, when he is said to have restored, jointly with the Emperor *Charlemagne*, *Eardulph*, King of *Northumberland*, driven out by his Subjects, to his Kingdom. Of this Event *Eginhard* gives us the following Account: *In the mean Time*, says he, *the King of the Northumbrians, by Name Eardulph, being driven from his Kingdom and Country, came from the Island of Britain to the Emperor, and having acquainted him with the Affair he came upon, he goes to Rome, and returning from thence is restored to his Kingdom by the Legates of the Pope and our Lord*

Whether re-  
stored by the  
Pope.

*the Emperor*<sup>i</sup>. *Baronius* adds, “the King was restored without Opposition, all deeming it a Crime not to obey the *Roman Pontiff*, or to oppose so great an Emperor. Here you have seen, continues the Annalist, addressing his Reader, the Authority of the *Roman Pontiff* expressed in Deeds. For the Emperor, sensible of his own Want of Authority to restore the deposed King, and knowing he might be restored by the Authority of the Pope, he sent him to *Rome* to the Pope to be restored by his Authority to his Kingdom and Dignity. Here you have likewise seen what great Regard the *English* paid to the Pope; for however enraged against their King, however inflamed with the Desire of reigning, they did not refuse to receive the very King, whom they had driven out, but immediately obeyed<sup>k</sup>.” Thus *Baronius*. But not the least Notice is taken by any of our Historians of the Restoration of *Eardulph*; nay, they rather seem to suppose, that he never was restored; for they tell us, that the Kingdom of *Northumberland* continued involved in the utmost Confusion, and in a State of Anarchy, from the Death of *Ethelred*, murdered in 794, to the Year 827, when *Egbert*, King of the *West Saxons*, got Possession of that Kingdom<sup>l</sup>. In the Chronicle of *Mailros* Notice is taken of the Expulsion of *Eardulph*, and it is said there, that upon his Expulsion the Kingdom of *Northumberland* continued many Years

<sup>h</sup> Annal. Metens.

<sup>i</sup> Eginhard. in Annal.

<sup>k</sup> Bar. ad ann. 808. p. 549.

950.

<sup>l</sup> Malmsh. de gest. Reg. Angl. l. i. c. 3. Vide Harpsfield Hist. Eccl. secul. 8. c. 21.

without a King<sup>m</sup>; and M. *Westminster* tells us, that *Alwold*, who drove *Eardulph* from the Throne, dying after a Reign of two Years only was succeeded by *Eandred*, who reigned 32 Years<sup>n</sup>. Our Historians therefore knew nothing of the Restoration of *Eardulph*, but suppose, on the contrary, that he never was restored. Some foreign Writers indeed tell us that he was restored; but they either ascribe his Restoration equally to the Pope and the Emperor, or to the Emperor alone. He was restored, says *Eginhard*, by the Legates of the Pope and our Lord the Emperor<sup>o</sup>. The deposed and banished King, say *Ado* and *Aventinus*<sup>p</sup>, repaired to the Court of *Charlemagne*, went from thence in Pilgrimage to *Rome*, and on his Return from that City was attended by the Embassadors of the Pope and the Emperor into *Britain*. But *Sigebert*, taking no Notice of the Pope, only says, that the King of the *Northumbrians* was restored by the Emperor *Charlemagne* to his Kingdom and his Country<sup>q</sup>. Upon the Whole therefore, either *Eardulph* never was restored, or if he was, his Restoration was owing, not to the Authority, but to the Interposition and good Offices of the Pope and the Emperor, or of the Emperor alone; and *Baronius* might at least as well have alleged his Restoration as an Instance of the sovereign Power of the Emperor over the Kingdoms and Princes of *England*, as of the sovereign Power of the Pope.

About this Time was moved, or rather was revived a Question in *France*, that in the following Centuries made a great Noise in the Church; viz. whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, or only from the Father. I say revived, the same Question having been proposed and discussed in the Council held under *Pepin* at *Gentilli* in 767, as has been related above<sup>r</sup>. The Acts of that Council have been long since lost; but it is highly probable it was there declared, that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son; for such was, at this Time, the Doctrine of the *Gallican* Church. The Fathers of the four first Centuries seem to have all held the same Doctrine; but it had not yet been defined by any General Council. The first Council of *Constantinople* had indeed added to the Symbol of *Nice*, that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father, but did not determine whether he proceeded, in

<sup>m</sup> *Rer. Anglican. Script.* apud Gal. vol. 2. p. 141.

Ang. p. 152.

<sup>o</sup> *Eginhard.* ubi supra.

*Aventin. Annal. Boior.* l. 4. p. 210.

above, p. 7.

<sup>n</sup> *M. Westm. Flor. Hist.*

<sup>p</sup> *Ado Vien. Chron.* ad ann. 809.

<sup>q</sup> *Sigeb. Chron.* ad ann. 808.

<sup>r</sup> See

Year of  
Christ 808.

like manner, from the Son. However in the 5th and 6th Centuries the Churches of *Spain* added to the Symbol of *Nice* and *Constantinople* the Words *and from the Son*. Their Example was followed by most of the *Gallican* Churches, where the Symbol was read and sung in their Service with that Addition. But a Monk of *Palestine*, by Name *John*, having, at this Time, declared for the opposite Opinion, and gained a great many Followers, the Question, *whether the Holy Ghost proceeded only from the Father?* was revived and anew debated in *France*. Whether the Monk came himself into that Kingdom, or only some of his Disciples, we know not; but certain it is, that several there, hearing the Arguments, that were alleged in Favour of his Opinion, began to waver and question the Truth of the Doctrine, which they had, till then, held and professed. *Charlemagne* therefore to prevent the Misunderstanding and Division, that might be thereby occasioned amongst the Bishops and Clergy of his Kingdom, thought it adviseable to have the Point in Dispute timely

And decided  
in a Council  
at Aix-la-  
Chapelle.

Year of  
Christ 809.

decided by a Council; and he assembled one accordingly at *Aix-la-Chapelle* in the Month of *November* of the following Year 809. As none assisted at this Council from the Pope, nor indeed was any Notice given him of its meeting, the Point in Dispute was fairly debated, and the Reasons for and against the two opposite Opinions patiently heard, and impartially examined. The Disturbances and Disagreement we read of amongst the Bishops in most other Councils, were owing to the Intrigues of the Legates of the Popes, their Holinesses having before-hand decided the Point in Controversy at *Rome*, and charged their Legates to get their Decision by all Means approved by the Council, or at least to approve no other. For it was not only to the Council of *Trent*, but to most other Councils, that the Pope's Legates carried the Holy Ghost in their Cloak bags.

Conference  
between the  
Pope and the  
Envoy of  
Charle-  
magne.

What was the Decision of the present Council History does not inform us. But as *Charlemagne* wrote, on that Occasion, a long Letter to the Pope, filled with an infinite Number of Passages from the Old and New Testament, as well as from the Fathers, showing, or calculated to show, that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, there is no Room to doubt but that was the Doctrine defined by the Council. With that Letter the Emperor dispatched to *Rome Bernard* or *Bernair* Bishop of *Worms*, and *Adelar* Abbot of *Corbie*, who had two long Conferences with the Pope; and both

• Eginhard. in Annal. Ado in Chron.

turned upon these two Points; whether it was an Article of Faith, that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father? And whether the Words *and from the Son, filioque*, might be added to the Symbol, and the Symbol might be read in the public Service, or sung, with that Addition, as was practised, at this Time, by the *Gallican* Church? In Answer to the first Question the Pope, having heard with great Attention, *diligentissime auditis*, the Authorities the Envoys produced to satisfy him that the Doctrine of the *Gallican* Church was entirely agreeable to the Doctrine of the Scriptures and the Fathers, allowed it to be an Article of Faith that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father, and at the same Time declared that he would communicate with none, who held or professed the opposite Opinion. Since you allow it to be an Article of Faith, replied the Envoys, are we not bound publicly to teach it, that they, who are ignorant of it, may know it, and they be confirmed in it, who know it? You are bound to teach it, answered the Pope. But can one be saved, said the Envoys, who either does not know this Doctrine, or does not believe it? Whoever has heard it, replied the Pope, and has Penetration enough to understand it, but yet will not believe it, cannot be saved. In our holy Faith there are many profound Mysteries, which some do, and some do not understand for want of Age or Capacity; and I therefore say, that whoever understands that Doctrine, but will not believe it, cannot be saved. *Leo* was, as is manifest from this Answer, of Opinion that no Man is bound to believe what he cannot understand. But by his Successors Men are daily damned for not believing Mysteries, which they themselves own to be incomprehensible, that is, quite unintelligible. Since we are bound to teach the present Doctrine, answered the Envoys, have we, or have we not done amiss in adding it to the Symbol, and causing it to be read and sung there in our Service? We know that the Words *and from the Son* were not put into the Symbol by the Council, that composed it, and are not ignorant that the following Councils forbade any new Symbol to be made, or any Thing to be added to, to be struck out of, or to be changed in the present Symbol. But had they added the abovementioned Words, we should, in that Case, be allowed both to read and to sing them in our Service. And are they not to blame for not adding them, since by the Addition of four Syllables only, *filioque, and from the Son*, they would have made known to all

Year of  
Christ 809.

future Ages so important a Mystery? Had they added them, replied the Pope, they might both be read and sung in the Service: But as I dare not say they would have done amiss had they added them, neither dare I say they did amiss in omitting them, and forbidding them, or any other Words whatever to be added to their Symbol. They were guided and directed not by human Wisdom, but by Wisdom from above. But you seem to entertain a mighty Opinion of yourselves. As for me, far from preferring myself to them, I should think it the Height of Presumption to put myself upon the Level with them. Far be it from us, said the Envoys here, to think otherwise of ourselves: We mean no more than to be useful to our Brethren; and as many have learnt that Mystery by hearing it read and sung in the Symbol, who otherwise never would have known it, we think it should rather be added to the Symbol, than so many Thousands be left in their Ignorance. Here the Pope asked them, whether they were for adding to the Symbol all the Articles of the Catholic Faith, that were not contained in it? And upon their answering that they were not all alike necessary to Salvation, he maintained that some however were, but being pressed by the Envoys to point them out, he desired Time to recollect them, that nothing might be advanced rashly on so important a Subject. And thus ended the first Day's Conference.

*The Pope will  
not allow the  
Words and  
from the Son  
to be added to  
the Symbol.*

The next Day the Conference was resumed, when the Pope to prove by Instances the Truth of what he had advanced the Day before, asked the Envoys whether they thought it more necessary to believe, or more dangerous not to believe that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father, than that the Son was the Wisdom begotten of the Wisdom, was the Truth begotten of the Truth, and yet that the Father and the Son were by Nature but one Wisdom, one Truth. They could not, he said, think it more necessary to believe, or more dangerous to disbelieve the one Article than the other; and yet they were not, as he supposed, for adding the one Article to the Symbol as well as the other, else they must add many others no less important, that would swell the Symbol to an immoderate Length. The Envoys pleaded the Practice of their Churches; adding, that were they now to strike it out of the Symbol, the Rule of their Faith, the People would no longer deem it an Article of Faith, but rather conclude the opposite Doctrine to be the Belief and the Doctrine of the Church. To remedy that  
Evil

Evil the Pope proposed the following Expedient, *viz.* not to strike out of the Symbol the Words *and from the Son* every-where at once, which he said might give Offence, and make a great Noise; but only to forbear reading it with that Addition in the King's Chapel, since a Practice, once established there, would soon become general, and be readily adopted by all other Churches<sup>c</sup>. Whether the *Gallican* Church continued to keep those Words in, or struck them out of the Symbol agreeably to the Practice of the *Roman* Church and the Advice of the Pope, we know not. But as for the Pope himself, to show that he did not approve of that Addition, he caused two Tables of Silver to be set up at the Tomb of St. *Peter*, and the Symbol to be engraved in *Greek* on the one, and on the other in *Latin* without the Words *and from the Son*<sup>u</sup>, which however were by his Successors afterwards added to the Symbol, on what Occasion we shall see in the Sequel.

Year of  
Christ 809.

In the mean Time in the East was killed in Battle by the *Bulgarians* the Emperor *Nicephorus*; and with him was cut off almost the whole Army, and the Flower of the Nobility of the Empire. His Body being found among the Slain, the King of the *Bulgarians*, having caused his Head to be cut off, and kept it some Time exposed to the View and the Insults of his Soldiery; enclosed the Skull in Silver, and used it thus enclosed instead of a Cup. *Nicephorus* is said to have befriended the *Manichees* and the *Athingani*(K), and to have exceeded all the Princes, who reigned before him, in Lewdness, Cruelty and Avarice. But it is to be observed, that he favoured the Iconoclasts; that he taxed the Clergy as well as the Laity; that he took the Vessels of Silver and Gold from the Churches to defray the Expences of the Wars he waged with the Enemies of the Christian Religion and the Empire; that pursuant to the Decree of a Council held at *Constantinople* he banished several Monks, and among the

Year of  
Christ 811.

<sup>c</sup> Concil. t. 7. p. 1194. Bar. ad ann. 609. p. 566.

<sup>u</sup> Anast. in Leon. 3.

(K) The *Athingani* were a Race of People, who wandering from their native Country, *Phrygia* and *Lycaonia*, first into *Egypt*, and from thence into most other Countries, lived by Soothsaying and telling of Fortunes. From the Word *Athingani*; *Goarus* derives the Italian Word *Zingari*, in *English* *Gypsies*, and pretends the pilfering Straglers, whom the *Italians* call *Zingari*, and we call *Gypsies* or *Egyptians*, to come originally from them (1). The *Athingani* were baptized; but conformed in every Thing else to the Law of *Moses* and the Ceremonies of the *Jews* (2). The Emperor *Michael*, surnamed *Balbus*, is said to have been of that Sect (3).

(1) Goar. in not. ad hunc locum.  
(3) Idem ibid.

) Constantin. Porphyrogen, l. 2. n. 3.



Year of  
Christ 811.

Michael  
Rhangabe  
raised to the  
Throne.

rest the two great Saints *Theodore Studita* and *Plato* for raising Disturbances in the Church, and lastly, that he drove from the Throne the great Patroness of Images St. *Irene*, deprived her of the Power she had acquired by the Murder of her Son, and sent her into Exile. *Nicephorus* being dead, *Michael* surnamed *Rhangabe* (the Name of his Grandfather) who had married *Procopia*, the late Emperor's Daughter, was by the Senate, and the few Officers, who had escaped the general Slaughter, proclaimed Emperor in his Room, and on the 5th of *October* of the present Year solemnly crowned by the Patriarch<sup>w</sup>. He enriched with magnificent Presents the Churches and Monasteries; recalled from Exile and set at Liberty the Monks, whom his Predecessor had banished or confined; issued an Edict commanding the *Manichees* to be put to the Sword throughout the Empire, and moved with divine Zeal spared none, who opposed the Worship of Images, or refused to worship them; caused an Hermit, who had impiously presumed to take down an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, to be apprehended, and his Tongue to be plucked out, which was attended with the Death both of his Body and his Soul; allowed no Liberty of Conscience, but obliged all to profess the same Faith, shewing no Mercy to those, who dissented from the Church, and was therefore a Prince, or is represented by the Writers of those Times as a Prince, in whom centered all Virtues without the Alloy of one single Vice.

The Patri-  
arch *Nicephorus* writes  
to the Pope.

Year of  
Christ 812.

He was no sooner raised to the Throne than *Nicephorus*, who had succeeded *Tarasius* in the See of *Constantinople* ever since the Year 806, but had not been allowed by the late Emperor to keep any Correspondence with *Rome*, wrote a long Letter to the Pope to acquaint him with his Promotion, to give him an Account of his Faith, which he said was entirely agreeable to that of the *Roman* Church, the Mother of all Churches, and to beg his Communion. From his Letter it appears, that he had succeeded *Tarasius* in the Office of Secretary to *Constantine* and *Irene*, and that tired of the World he had resigned his Employment and retired to the Desert, but upon the Death of *Tarasius* had been recalled by the Emperor *Nicephorus* to *Constantinople*, and obliged, tho' yet a Layman, to accept of the patriarchal Dignity<sup>x</sup>. He pleaded for his not writing sooner, as he ought to have done, and would have done with great Pleasure, the Prohibition of the Emperor jealous of any Intercourse between the

<sup>w</sup> Theoph. ad ann. Mich. 1.    <sup>x</sup> Ep. Niceph. apud Bar. ad ann. 811. p. 582.

two Sees; and with his Letter he sent, as a Present to his Fellow Bishop, a rich *Encolpium*, that is, a Reliquary in the Form of a Cross containing a Piece of the true Cross, or the Reliques of some Saint. These *Encolpia* Bishops used to wear in those Days hanging from their Necks. The Patriarch takes Care to declare, with great Zeal, for the Worship of Images as a Practice coeval with the Christian Religion, and does not at all doubt but that he shall soon have the Satisfaction of seeing it universally established by the vigilant Care and indefatigable Zeal of the most religious Emperor, who seems to have been sent down for that Purpose from Heaven.

But that Satisfaction the good Patriarch never enjoyed, the most religious Emperor resigning the Empire, when he had held it scarce two Years, and another, as zealous an Enemy to Images as he was a Friend, being raised to the Throne in his Room. For *Michael* being most shamefully defeated by the *Bulgarians* with the Loss of most his whole Army, he was affected with that Misfortune to such a Degree, that he resolved to quit the Empire, and resign it to one more capable of defending it than himself. The Person he chose was *Leo*, surnamed from his Country the *Armenian*, who had distinguished himself on all Occasions by his Courage and Conduct, and was deemed at that Time the best Commander in the whole Empire. But *Leo* opposed his Choice; and he was the only Person in the Empire, who opposed it; nor could he be prevailed upon to yield to the earnest Entreaties of the Senate, the Patriarch, and the Soldiery till News was brought him, that the King of the *Bulgarians*, elated with his late Success, was advancing with long Marches to the Imperial City. He then accepted the Empire to save it, and was solemnly crowned by the Patriarch amidst the loud Acclamations of the People; which *Michael* no sooner understood, than he retired with his Wife and his Children to the Monastery of *Pharus*, and there they all took the monastic Habit, lest living in the World they should give Occasion of Jealousy to the new Emperor. In the mean Time the King of the *Bulgarians* advancing to the very Gates of the Imperial City, *Leo* marched out against him with the few Troops, that had escaped the late Slaughter, and obliged him to retire. He withdrew to *Adrianople*, and having closely besieged that City he reduced it:

y. Vide Ducang. ad Alexiad. Annæ Comnenæ, p. 247, & seq.

Year of  
Christ 813.

last (L). With these Words *Theophanes* closes his Chronography begun with the first Year of the Reign of *Dioclesian* (M). Of the Zeal of the new Emperor for the Purity of the Christian Religion, and his indefatigable Endeavours to banish from the Church and the Empire the Worship of Images, which he thought inconsistent with that Purity, I shall have Occasion to speak in the Sequel. To return in the mean Time to the West.

Charle-  
magne dies.  
Year of  
Christ 814.

The following Year 814, died at *Aix-la-Chapelle* the great Friend of the Popes, and the chief Author of their temporal Grandeur the Emperor *Charlemagne* (N); and no sooner was the News of his Death:

\* *Theoph. ad ann. Incar. secund. Alexandrin. 805.*

(L) Thus *Theophanes*, who lived at this Time in *Constantinople*, and was an Eye-witness of what he wrote. But the Emperor *Constantine Porphyrogenetus*, who reigned in the Beginning of the following Century, gives us a very different Account of the Promotion of *Leo*. For he tells us, that the Emperor had the Advantage in the Engagement with the *Bulgarians* till *Leo*, who aspired to the Empire, and was sensible he could never attain it, should *Michael* return victorious to *Constantinople*, drew off the Forces under his Command; which so disheartened the Imperial Troops, that they immediately betook themselves to a disorderly Flight, and left the *Bulgarians* Masters of the Field. He adds, that the Emperor from the Field of Battle fled to *Constantinople*, and that *Leo*, by inveighing against him, in his Absence, as a weak, effeminate and cowardly Prince, prevailed on the Soldiery to offer the Empire to him. Thus *Porphyrogenetus*, and after him *Cedrenus* with the whole Tribe of the more modern Writers both *Greek* and *Latin*, all prejudiced to such a Degree against *Leo*, on account of his Aversion to Images, as to prefer the Authority of an Historian, who lived an hundred Years after those Times, and was no less biassed than they, to that of one, who lived at that very Time, who was an Eye-witness of what he wrote, and whose Testimony on all other Occasions they quote as decisive. *Porphyrogenetus* himself owns that according to some Writers,

the Emperor's Guards and those about him, were the first, who fled; that *Leo* fought valiantly, and that the Emperor, in retiring from the Army, left *Leo* behind him as a Bulwark to awe the Barbarians, and restrain them from ravaging the Country and destroying the Inhabitants (1).

(M) The Chronography of *Theophanes* was continued by the following Writers, viz. *Leo*, surnamed the *Grammarians*, who was contemporary with those, whose Actions he relates; an anonymous Author, who wrote the most remarkable Events of the Reign of the present Emperor *Leo the Armenian*, and is supposed to have flourished in his Time; the Emperor *Constantine Porphyrogenetus*, who was raised to the Empire in the Beginning of the tenth Century; *Simeon Metaphrastes*, and a Monk named *George*. But, with respect to these Writers, it is to be observed, that they were all no less zealous Advocates for the Worship of Images than *Theophanes* himself, and consequently no less biassed in Favour of those, who promoted that Worship, than prejudiced against all, who opposed it. Hence we shall frequently find the best of Men, who were Enemies to Images, painted by them, without any Regard to Truth or to Conscience, as the worst; and the worst, who were, or pretended to be, Friends to Images, represented and extolled as the best.

(N) He died on the 28th of *January*, and was buried the same Day. Indeed that Custom obtained, generally speaking,

(1) *Porphy. ad ann. 1. Leon.*

during

Death brought to *Rome*, than the Relations of the late Pope *Hadrian* and their Partisans, who had used the present Pope with so much Barbarity in the Beginning of his Pontificate, conspired against him anew with a Design not only to depose but to murder him. But the Plot being discovered before it was ripe for Execution, the Pope caused all, who were concerned in it, to be apprehended, and put to Death without Mercy. This Severity was not at all pleasing to the new Emperor *Lewis*, surnamed the *Debonnaire*, who had succeeded his Father *Charlemagne* in the Empire of the West; and he was no sooner informed of it, than he commanded his Nephew *Bernard*, King of *Italy*, to repair forthwith to *Rome* in order to take Cognisance of the whole Affair upon the Spot. The King, having spent some Time at *Rome* in examining the Enemies as well as the Friends of the Pope, and receiving the Depositions of Men of both Parties, dispatched Count *Gerholt* with an Account of the Whole into *France*. At the same Time the Pope sent *John* Bishop, *Theodore* Nomenclator, and Duke *Sergius*, with the Character of his Legates, to justify his Conduct to the Emperor, and clear him from the Crimes, that were laid to his Charge; which they are said to have done to the entire Satisfaction of *Lewis*. But the Pope being, in the mean Time, seized with a dangerous Malady, the People rose in a tumultuous Manner, burnt or pulled down all the Farm-houses he had built in the Country, plundered the Farms, to recover, they said, what had been unjustly taken from them, and would have committed great Disorders in *Rome* itself, had they not been prevented by *Winigisus*,

Year of  
Christ 814.

Conspiracy  
against the  
Pope, who  
puts all to  
Death con-  
cerned in it.  
Year of  
Christ 815.

\* Anast. in Leon. III Eginhard. in Annal. ad ann. 815.

during the eight first Ages of the Church; and hence the Day, on which even those Popes were buried, who were not buried, as it happened to some, till three or four Days after their Death, is marked in some Pontificals as the Day of their Death. Over the Tomb of the deceased Emperor was raised a kind of triumphal Arch with the following Epitaph: *Sub hoc conditorio situm est corpus Karoli, magni atque Orthodoxi Imperatoris, qui regnum Francorum mobiliter ampliavit, & per annos XLVII feliciter tenuit. Decessit Septuagenarius anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCXIV. Indictione VII. V Kalend. Februariar.* It is to be observed, that in his Epitaph he is not surnamed *the Great*, but stiled *Charles*, *great Emperor*; and thus he stiled himself,

in Imitation of the *Greek* Emperors, in all his Diplomas, that are known to be authentic. Those therefore, in which he is called *Charlemagne* or *Charles the Great*, may be justly looked upon as supposititious. *Charlemagne* was, as we have seen, no less averse to the Worship of Images than the Emperor *Leo* or his Son *Constantine*; but yet as he was a Friend to the Popes, as he made it his Study to aggrandize and enrich them, his Heresy was by them overlooked, and he extolled as a most pious, a most religious, a most Christian Prince at the same Time that they inveighed against *Leo* and *Constantine*, tho' guilty of no other Heresy, as the worst of Heretics.

Duke

Year of  
Christ 815.

Leo dies.

Year of  
Christ 816.

Duke of *Spoleti*, sent by *Bernard*, King of *Italy*, with a Body of Troops to quell and disperse the riotous Multitude<sup>b</sup>.

The Pope was taken ill in the Beginning of the Year 816; and he died of that Illness on the eleventh of *June*, having borne it the whole Time with great Resignation and exemplary Patience. He had governed the *Roman* Church twenty Years, five Months, and sixteen Days; and being himself enriched by the unparalleled Generosity of *Charlemagne*, he more enriched the Churches of *Rome* with costly and valuable Ornaments than all his Predecessors together. He was buried in the *Vatican*; and in Process of Time an Altar was built over his Tomb, and under the Altar were deposited together with his, the Bodies of *Leo* I. II. and IV. as appears from the Stone that was placed over their Bodies by Pope *Paschal* II. in the Close of the eleventh Century, with the following Epitaph, *Under this Altar lie the Bodies of the holy Pontiffs and Confessors Leo I. II. III. and IV.* In the Year 1608. the Bodies of these four Popes were translated by *Paul* V. from the old to the new Church of *St. Peter*; and there they are all four worshipped to this Day<sup>d</sup>, tho' *Leo* III. has not yet been honoured with a Place in the Kalendar. Of this Pope we are told, that he used to say seven Masses, and said sometimes nine on one Day<sup>e</sup>. Indeed it was no unusual Thing for a Priest to say what Number of Masses he pleased till the Time of Pope *Alexander* II. who about the Year 1070. restrained all Priests to two Masses only, the one for the Living, and the other for the Dead. They were afterwards confined by *Innocent* III. and *Honorius* III. to one Mass a Day, the Festival of our Saviour's Nativity excepted, when all are still allowed to say three<sup>f</sup>.

In *Leo's*  
Time the  
Right Hand  
first deemed  
the most ho-  
nourable.

It is observable, that in the Time of *Leo* III. the Right Hand began first to be deemed the most honourable, *St. Paul* being constantly placed on the Right Hand of *St. Peter* in all the Mosaic Pieces or Pictures of those two Apostles, that were done before his Time, and as constantly on his Left in all, that were done in his Time. However upon his Death the ancient Custom took Place anew, and the two Apostles were represented in the same Manner after his Time as before it till the Pontificate of *Nicholas* IV. raised to the See in 1288, when the Right Hand was deemed again the most honourable; and so it has continued to be deemed from that Time to the present g.

<sup>b</sup> Astron. in vit. Ludovic. Pii.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Aleman. in pariet. Lateran. c. 10.

<sup>d</sup> Henschen ad diem xi April.

<sup>e</sup> Walfrid. Strabo de reb Ecclesiast. c. 21.

<sup>f</sup> Vide Card. Bona rer. Liturgic. l. 1. c. 18. & Marten. de Antiquis Eccles. ritib. l. 1. c. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Vide Papebroc. in Conatu Chron. Hist.

Steph. IV.

BISHOPS of Rome.

185

LEO ARMENUS,  
Emperor of the  
East.

STEPHEN IV.

LEWIS THE DE-  
BONNAIRE,  
Emperor of the  
West.

Year of  
Christ 816.

*Ninety-sixth* BISHOP of Rome.

**I**N the Room of *Leo* was chosen, after a Vacancy of ten Days, *Stephen* the fourth of that Name. He was a Native of *Rome*,<sup>chosen.</sup> of an illustrious Family, had been educated in the *Lateran* under Pope *Hadrian*, and ordained first Subdeacon, and afterwards Deacon by *Leo*, who entertained, as well as the People and the rest of the Clergy, a mighty Opinion of his Virtue and Learning &c.

He was no sooner ordained than he required the whole People of *Rome* to take the same Oath of Allegiance to the Emperor *Lewis*,<sup>Romans to take an Oath of Allegiance</sup> which they had taken, under his Predecessors, to his Father *Charlemagne*. At the same Time he dispatched Legates into *France* to acquaint the Emperor with his Promotion, and signify to him his earnest Desire of conferring with him in Person in what Place soever he should think fit to appoint<sup>h</sup>. The Emperor readily complied with his Desire, ordered his Nephew *Bernard*, King of *Italy*, to attend him on his Journey, and having appointed the City of *Reims* for the Place of their Meeting, he repaired thither, in Person, as soon as he heard of his Arrival in *France*. When the Pope was yet at some Distance from the City, he sent out *Hildebald* his first Chaplain, *Theodulph* Bishop of *Orleans*, and *John* Archbishop of *Arles*, attended by a great Number of other Ecclesiastics, all in their sacerdotal Attire, to meet him, and went in Person, as he approached the City, with all the great Lords of the Court to receive him. He waited his Arrival on Horse-back at the Monastery of *St. Remigius* a little Way out of the City, and dismounting as his Holiness approached, he fell three Times prostrate on the Ground, welcoming him with the Words of the Scripture, *blest is he, who cometh in the Name of the Lord*. The Pope dismounted at the same Time, and raising the Emperor from the Ground returned Thanks to the Almighty for granting him the wished for Satisfaction of seeing a second King *David*. They then embraced each other with great Affection and Tendernefs, and walking together, with all their At-

<sup>s</sup> Anast. in Steph. IV.

<sup>h</sup> Thegan. c. 16.

Year of  
Christ 816.

tendants, to the Church, assisted at the *Te Deum*, which was sung with the utmost Solemnity. After the *Te Deum* they prayed in Silence till the Pope rising up sung a Hymn with his Clergy in Praise of the Emperor, which ended with a Prayer for his Health and his Welfare. From the Church the Pope withdrew with the Emperor into the Monastery, and there acquainted him with the Motives of his Journey, laying before him the State of the Church and the City of *Rome*. As the Pope was not a little fatigued with his Journey, the Emperor, leaving him after a very short Conference, returned to the City<sup>i</sup>.

Crowns the  
Emperor.

The next Day the Emperor made a grand Entertainment for the Pope; and the Day following the Pope made the like Entertainment for the Emperor. One of the chief Motives of the Pope's Journey into *France* was, it seems, to have the Satisfaction of consecrating and crowning the Emperor; and that Ceremony he performed, with great Solemnity the first Sunday after his Arrival at *Reims*. He crowned both the Emperor, and his Wife *Hermenegard*, whom he stiled Empress, with Crowns of Gold, enriched with a great Number of precious Stones, which he had brought with him for that Purpose from *Rome*. He is said to have made many other valuable Presents to the Emperor, and to have received Presents from him in Return three Times their Value<sup>k</sup>. *Anastasius* tells us that the Emperor even gave a Village to St. *Peter* on the Borders of *France* to be for ever possessed by him and his Successors<sup>l</sup>. The Pope, having spent two Months in *France*, frequently conferring with the Emperor about the State of the Church and the Government of *Rome*, set out from *Reims* in the Beginning of *October* on his Return to *Italy*, accompanied by some of the great Lords of the Court, whom the Emperor had appointed to attend him to *Rome*. Before he left *France* he gave the Pall to *Theodulph*, Bishop of *Orleans*; and thenceforth we find that Prelate constantly distinguished with the Title of Archbishop; tho' Instances are not wanting of Bishops, after as well as before the Time of *Theodulph*, who, tho' distinguished with the Pall, were not distinguished with that Title.

Returns to  
Rome.

Of this Pope we hear no more till the Time of his Death, which happened on the 24th of *January* 817, about three Months after his

<sup>i</sup> Eginhard. in Annal. Thegan. Auſtor. vit. Ludovic. Pii.

<sup>l</sup> Anast. in Steph. IV.

<sup>k</sup> Thegan.

Paschal. BISHOPS of Rome.

187

Return to *Rome*, and seven after his Promotion. He died, it seems, suddenly, a Rescript being still to be seen, that was signed by him the Day preceding his Death<sup>k</sup>. He is said in the Copies of *Anastasia* by a gross Mistake, no doubt of the Transcribers, to have held the See seven Years and as many Months.

Year of  
Christ 816.  
Stephen dies.  
Year of  
Christ 817.

LEO ARMENUS,  
MICHAEL BALBUS,  
*Emperors of the East.*

PASCHAL,

LEWIS THE DEBON-  
NAIRE and LOTHAR-  
IUS,  
*Emperors of the West.*

*Ninety-seventh* BISHOP of Rome.

**S**TEPHEN was buried on the 25th of *January*, the next Day Paschal after his Death, and on the same Day the Senate, the Clergy and the People chose with one Voice *Paschal* in his Room. He was by Birth a *Roman*, the Son of *Bonofus*, and at the Time of his Election Abbot of the Monastery of the Protomartyr St. *Stephen*<sup>l</sup>.

The first Care of the new Pope was to acquaint the Emperor *Lewis* with his Promotion, and he dispatched accordingly, as soon as he was ordained, his Nomenclator *Theodore* for that Purpose into *France*. He was, it seems, charged by some with having raised himself, by unlawful Means, to the Chair; for in the Letter he wrote, after his Ordination, to the Emperor, he takes great Pains to satisfy him, that far from aspiring to the Pontifical Dignity, he had declined it till the People forced him, and much against his Will, to acquiesce in the Choice they had unanimously made. As that Letter is by a contemporary Historian stiled an Apology<sup>m</sup>, *Platina* and after him *Ciaconius* suppose it to have been written by the Pope to apologize for his having suffered himself to be ordained before his Election was approved by the Emperor. But there was no Decree at this Time either of the Pope or the Emperor of the West forbidding the Pope to be ordained till his Election was notified to and approved by the Emperor. I say of the Emperor of the West; for that Custom had indeed obtained while the Emperors of the East were Masters of *Italy*; and they took Care, as we have seen, to have it strictly complied with till the Popes, shaking off all Dependence upon them, became their own Masters. From that Time,

<sup>k</sup> Apud Duchesn. t. 3. p. 655.  
Ludovic. Pii.

<sup>l</sup> Anast. in Pasch.

<sup>m</sup> Auct. vit.



Year of  
Christ 817.

that is, from the Time of Pope *Zachary* raised to the See in 741, they continued to be ordained, without the Approbation of the Emperor either of the East or the West, till the Year 825, the second of Pope *Eugene* II. who revived the ancient Custom in Favour of the Emperor *Lotharius* and his Successors in the Empire, as I shall relate in the Sequel.

Who confirms  
the Donations  
of his Father  
and Grand-  
father.

The Emperor received *Theodore* with extraordinary Marks of Respect and Esteem, honouring in him the Vicar of St. *Peter*, whom he represented, and in the Vicar of St. *Peter* the Apostle himself; assured him of his inviolable Attachment to the apostolic See, and declared himself unalterably determined to maintain, if necessary, with the whole Strength of his Kingdoms, the Prince of the Apostles and his Successors, in the quiet Possession of all his Father and Grandfather had by their Religion and Piety been prompted to give them. *Lewis* is said to have not only confirmed on this Occasion but enlarged their Donations, adding by the famous Decree *Ego Ludovicus* the Islands of *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicily* to the Demains given to St. *Peter* by *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*<sup>p</sup>. But that the Donation of *Lewis* yielding those Islands to St. *Peter* is quite of a Piece with the Donation of *Constantine the Great* yielding all *Italy* to St. *Peter*

But adds no-  
thing to them

may be easily demonstrated. For 1. The Donations of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* are frequently mentioned by the Popes, but by none of them ever is made the least mention of the pretended Donation of *Lewis*; and he is only commended by them for generously confirming the Donations of his Father and Grandfather. 2. The Emperors *Otho* I. and *Henry* I. enumerate all the Countries and Places in particular, that were given by *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* to St. *Peter* and his Church, and confirm their Donations; but knew of none, at least take Notice of none, that were given to St. *Peter* or his Church by the Emperor *Lewis*<sup>q</sup>. 3. *Lewis* is supposed by his Donation to have yielded to the apostolic See the Islands of *Corfica*, *Sardinia* and *Sicily*. But he never was Master of *Sicily*, nor indeed was any of that Race, the Island of *Sicily* having been possessed by the Emperors of the East till the Year 827, when it was betrayed to the *Saracens*. 4. *Lewis* in the Instrument of his supposed Donation is made to decree, that the Pope lawfully chosen shall thenceforth be

<sup>p</sup> See vol. 3. p. 311.  
Anast. in Eugen.  
62. & 1014.

<sup>q</sup> Eginhard. in Annal.  
Apud Gratian. Dist. 63.

Auctor. vit. Ludovic. Pii.  
<sup>r</sup> Vide Baron. ad annos

Paschal.

# BISHOPS of Rome.

189

Year of  
Christ 817.

ordained without Delay, and that after his Ordination he shall send Legates to acquaint therewith the Emperor and his Successors in the Empire. But it is very certain, that by Pope *Eugene* II. the immediate Successor of the present Pope, a Decree was issued at the Request, not to say the Command, of *Lotharius*, the Son and Collegue of *Lewis* in the Empire, forbidding the new Pope, how lawfully soever chosen, to be ordained till his Election was approved by the Emperor, or the Deputies he should appoint to assist at his Ordination. Had *Lewis* out of his great Regard for the apostolic See enacted the above-mentioned Decree, he would not have suffered it to be thus in a few Years reversed and annulled. The Decree of Pope *Eugene* was observed with the greatest Strictness, during the whole ninth Century; and I do not find, that the *Roman* Clergy, tho' they frequently and loudly complained of it, ever pleaded the Decree of the Emperor *Lewis* to exempt themselves from complying with it, which they certainly would have done had they known of any such Decree. Upon the Whole the Donation of *Lewis* was as evidently forged as that of *Constantine*, and probably forged in the latter End of the eleventh Century, *Leo Ostiensis*, who died in the Beginning of the twelfth, being the first who mentions it, telling us, that it was made to St. *Peter* and his Vicar Pope *Paschal* in the Palace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* in the Year 817<sup>r</sup>.

The Election of *Paschal* was no sooner known in the East than *Theodore* the famous Monk *Theodore Studita*, Abbot of the Monastery of *Studius* in the Suburbs of *Constantinople*, wrote to him in his own Name, and in the Name of four other Abbots, to acquaint him with the cruel Persecution the Orthodox, that is, the Worshipers of Images, suffered under the Iconoclast Emperor *Leo*, and implore his Protection (O). <sup>*Studita implores the Protection of the Pope against the Iconoclasts.*</sup>

Year of  
In Christ 818.

<sup>r</sup> Leo Ostiens. Chron. Cassin. l. I. c. 18.

(O) Of this Persecution, as they call it, the Writers of those Days give us the following Account. *Leo*, having by a remarkable Victory over the *Bulgarians*, whose numerous Army he entirely cut off, established himself firmly on the Throne, undertook to reform the Abuses, that prevailed in the Church, and what to him seemed most of all to stand in need of a Reformation, the Worship of Images. For whether he had been always in his Heart an Enemy to Images, as some write, or was but lately seduced, as others will

have it, by a Monk named *Sabbatius*, and persuaded that God alone was to be worshipped, certain it is, that in the Year 814, the second of his Reign, he first showed himself offended at the Worship, that was given to Images, and strongly inclined to banish it, as repugnant, in his Opinion, to the Law of God, from the Church and the Empire. However not to trust to his own Judgment alone, tho' he had, it seems, perused, and with great Attention, the Acts of the two preceding Councils, of the Council of *Constantinople*

Year of  
Christ 818.

In his Letter he exhorts the Pope to exert all his Zeal on so urgent an Occasion, to assemble a Council, and to anathematize, together with

under *Copronymus* against Images, and of *Nice* under *Irene* in their Favour, he would take no Step in a Matter of such Importance till he had consulted the Patriarch, as well as the Bishops and all the Men of Character at that Time in the Imperial City, and heard the Point fairly debated, in his Presence, by the learned of both Parties. Having therefore assembled, in the Imperial Palace, a great Number of Bishops with the Patriarch, the Senate, the chief of the Clergy, and the Abbots of all the Monasteries in *Constantinople*, and its Neighbourhood, he is said, but very improbably, to have taken an Image of our Saviour out of his Bosom, and kissing it to have addressed them thus: I agree, as you see, in Opinion with you. But some there are, who maintain the contrary Opinion, and condemn ours: And I have called together both you and them to hear what you have to offer in Support of your Opinion, and what they have to offer in Support of theirs. If you show that they teach a new Doctrine, your Opinion shall henceforth prevail; and theirs, if they show that you teach a new Doctrine. Had an Affair of ever so little Moment been referred to me, I ought not to have left it undetermined; much less am I to leave undetermined an Affair of infinite Moment (i).

Thus the Emperor: But by no Means could he prevail on the Advocates for Images to enter the Lists with their Adversaries. Some excused themselves on account of the Place, saying that Matters of Religion, that Points of Faith were to be canvassed and determined in the Church, and not in the Imperial Palace. By others was alleged the Obstinacy of Heretics, whom they said it was lost Labour to attempt to convince; their Obstinacy being Proof against Demonstration itself. Some taxing the Emperor to his Face with Insincerity, Hypocrisy, Partiality, had the Assurance to tell him, that he was too much prepossessed and prejudiced in Favour of Error to be capable of distinguish-

ing Truth from Falshood, or Falshood from Truth; and they therefore could not, nor would they stand to his Judgment in proving the one, or confuting the other. All this the Emperor bore with great Temper and Patience, only reminding them of the Respect, that was due to the Imperial Dignity, and telling them that every Christian, much more a Bishop and Teacher of the Christian Religion, ought to be ready, whenever he is called upon, to give an Account of his Religion, and that from their Backwardness their Antagonists would conclude, that they distrusted their Cause, or wanted Arguments to support it. We have abundance of Arguments, replied *Theophylactus*, Bishop of *Nicomedia*; but our Antagonists have Ears and hear not, and it would therefore be to no Purpose to produce them. Our Adversaries, added *Peter*, Bishop of *Nice*, are patronised and protected by you; and even a *Manichee* would prove, under your Protection, too powerful for us. Here *Euthymius*, Bishop of *Sardis*, addressing the Emperor, Christ, said he, from the Time he first appeared upon the Earth to the present, that is for the Space of 800 Years and upwards, has been painted in all the Churches throughout the World, and adored in his Pictures. And who dares impugn, alter or condemn a Practice handed down to us and approved by the Apostles, the Martyrs and all the holy Fathers? The Apostle *Paul* exhorts us to stand fast, and hold the Traditions, which we have been taught, whether by Word, or his Epistle, and will have us to anathematize and curse even an Angel from Heaven, should he preach any other Gospel, or Doctrine, than what we have received. The holy Synod, assembled at *Nice* by the pious Emperors *Constantine* and *Irene*, condemned those, who first taught that Images were not to be worshipped; and that Synod the Son of God signed with his own Hand. If any Man therefore shall presume to contradict or to alter it, let him be accursed. That the Practice of setting

(1) Michael in vit. Theodor. Studit. & Theosterict. in vit. Nicet.

Paschal.

# BISHOPS of Rome.

191

with the other Bishops in the West, the wicked Herefy, that prevailed in the East, and all who professed it. The Direction of his Letter

Year of  
Christ 818.

up Images in Churches, or Places of Worship, was not introduced till the latter End of the fourth Century, nor the Practice of worshipping them till the latter End of the seventh, or the Beginning of the eighth has been shown in the foregoing Volume (2); and consequently that neither was a Practice derived from the Apostles, or the primitive Martyrs and Fathers. *Theodore Studita*, the famous Champion of Images, pretended, that the Emperor was not at all to concern himself with the Church, or the Affairs of the Church, *God*, said he with the Words of the Apostle, *having set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers*, made no mention of Kings, who were therefore to govern the State, but leave the Church to be governed by its Pastors and Doctors. *Theodore* added, that if the Emperor was nevertheless determined, right or wrong, to meddle with ecclesiastical Matters, he must let him know, that he would not even hearken to an Angel from Heaven, should he preach any other Doctrine than that he had received, much less would he hearken to him (3).

But by God himself, replied the Emperor, we are expressly forbidden to make any graven Images, to bow down to them, or to worship them. The *Jews* were forbidden, answered *Theodore*: But the Law, given to them, is not binding with respect to us Christians; else why should not we be circumcised as well as the *Jews*? Where he ignorantly confounds the ceremonial Law with the Decalogue. But he had, it seems, perused the Acts of the second Council of *Nice*, and read there of a learned Bishop wondering at the Ignorance of the Iconoclast Heretics in alleging, against the Christians, Words spoken so long ago to the *Jews* (4). The Emperor maintained that the Law given to *Moses* was binding with respect to the Christians as well as the *Jews*, our Saviour having

declared, that he came not to destroy, but to fulfil the Law; and consequently if it was Idolatry in a *Jew* to bow down to Images and worship them, it was likewise Idolatry in a Christian. In answer to that was urged by *Theodore* the Example of our Saviour himself, who had sent his Picture to *Abgarus* King of *Edessa* (5); the Example of St. *Luke* (6), and many others, who had painted him in the earliest Times, and whose Pictures were still to be seen, and still were worshipped by the Faithful; the many Advantages attending the Use as well as the Worship of Images, and the uninterrupted Practice of the Church from the Times of Christ and his Apostles to the present. The Emperor answered, that the Use, as well as the Worship of Images, was of a much later Date than he pretended, as some, who were present, would convince him, if he and his Brethren would agree to hear them. For to this Conference the Emperor had invited some of the most zealous and learned Iconoclasts, and among the rest *Anthony* Metropolitan of *Sylæum* in *Pamphylia*, a Prelate, perhaps, better acquainted than any of his Time with the Scriptures, the Writings of the Fathers, and the History of the Church. But *Theodore* declaring, in the Name of the rest, that far from hearing condemned and accursed Heretics, they would not so much as see them, nor meet them, could they avoid it, in the public Streets, and at the same Time inveighing, without any Regard to the Imperial Dignity, against the Emperor himself as a Heretic, as an Abettor of Heretics, as one, who had impiously undertaken, as was apparent from his Conduct, to disturb the Peace of the Church, and banish the true Religion from the Empire, *Leo* thought it advisable to dismiss the Assembly: And he dismissed it accordingly, having first reprimanded the insolent Monk for treating him, he said, not as an Emperor, but as the meanest of the Popu-

(2) See vol. 3. p. 229. 236.  
(4) See above, p. 110.

(3) Michael & Theophrast. ubi sup a.  
(5) See vol. 3. p. 203.

(6) Ibid. p. 205.  
lace (7).

Year of  
Christ 818.

Letter was to *Paschal Pope of Rome, the great Light, the first Prince of Bishops, and his Apostolic Lord.* At the same Time he

wrote

lace (7). The Monk *Michael*, who lived at this Time, tells us, that the Emperor, transported with Rage, drove the holy Man with dreadful Menaces and opprobrious Language from his Presence (8): But *Theosterictus*, who likewise lived at this Time, writes that *Leo* patiently heard him without ever betraying the least Resentment or Anger (9): And *Theosterictus* was as much prejudiced against *Leo* as *Michael*.

The next Day the Patriarch, by the Advice of *Theodore*, assembled in the great Church the Bishops and Abbots, who the Day before had been present at the Conference, in order to deliberate, together with them, about the Means of maintaining the Catholic Faith, that is, the Worship of Images, in Opposition to the Emperor, should he attempt to banish it, and introduce the so often condemned and anathematized Heresy in its Room. But the Emperor no sooner heard of their thus caballing than he sent them an Order by the Governor of the City, commanding them to retire forthwith to their respective Habitations, and forbear assembling again without his Permission or Knowledge. Hereupon the Monks spreading themselves, at the Instigation of *Theodore*, all over the City, began to exhort the Populace to continue stedfast in the Religion of their Ancestors, to avoid all Communication with Heretics, especially with the accursed Iconoclasts, and to defend, even at the Expence of their Lives, the holy Images of our Saviour and his Saints, should any presume to remove or insult them, as they would defend our Saviour himself or his Saints, since the Insults, offered to their Images, were offered to them. The seditious Conduct of the Monks obliged the Emperor, apprehensive of the Consequences that might attend it, to confine them all to their Monasteries. At the same Time he let the Patriarch know, as well as the Bishops of his Party, that tho'

he would not concern himself with their private Opinion, yet he could not allow them to preach a Doctrine to the ignorant and undistinguishing Multitude, which the most learned amongst them had not been able, or at least had declined to maintain against those, who held, and were ready to maintain the opposite Doctrine. And he therefore ordered them to observe thenceforth a strict Silence concerning Images and the Worship of Images. This Order he sent, by the Governor of the City, to the Patriarch, to the Bishops, to the Abbots; and all, except *Theodore*, promised in compliance with it, and promised in Writing, as was required by the Emperor, thenceforth to forbear all mention, in public, of Images or the Worship of Images. But *Theodore*, addressing the Governor with the Words of the two Apostles, *whether it be right in the Sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye* (1), told him, that he would rather suffer his Tongue to be cut out than observe the enjoined Silence only one Hour: Nay, no sooner did he hear that the Patriarch had promised to observe it, than quitting his Monastery, tho' confined to it by an express Order from the Emperor, and flying to the episcopal Palace, he prevailed on the weak Prelate not only to recall his Promise, but to assemble, in Defiance of the Emperor's late Prohibition, all the Bishops, Abbots and leading Men of the Clergy, and extort from them a Promise in Writing, which they all signed with a Cross, binding themselves to defend, if necessary, the holy and venerable Images at the Expence of their Lives. The Assembly was scarce dismissed when the Emperor, informed of all that had passed, sent one of the chief Lords of his Court to reproach the Patriarch, in his Name, with the Breach of his Promise, and at the same Time to let him know, that to prevent the Disturbances factious Men might raise in the City, when encouraged by him,

(7) Michael. in vit. Theodor. Studit.  
in vit. Nicet.

(1) Acts iv. 19.

(8) Idem ibid.

(9) Theosterict.

Paschal.

# BISHOPS of Rome.

193

wrote to the other three Patriarchs, bestowing on them as pompous and high-sounding Titles as he bestowed on the Pope. The Patriarch

Year of  
Christ 813.

of And of the  
other Patri-  
archs.

he must either comply with the Will of his Sovereign, or resign his Dignity. The Patriarch answered, with great Resolution and Firmness, that the Promise he made had given great Offence to all good Christians, that he therefore repented his ever having made it, and was determined rather to die a thousand Times than betray, by observing it, so good a Cause. This Answer determined the Emperor to remove him; and he sent accordingly an Officer to acquaint him with this his Determination, and convey him to a Monastery on the other Side the *Bosphorus*, which he himself had built. In his Room was raised to the Patriarchal Dignity *Theodotus* of *Melissa*, whom even his avowed Enemies allow to have been a Person of a noble Extraction, of a mild Temper, of an engaging Behaviour, nay, and to have been universally reputed a Man of great Probity, tho' his Probity, say they, was only affected, being himself an irreconcilable Enemy to Christ and his Saints in their Images, and sparing no Pains to gain over others to his detestable Heresy (2).

The new Patriarch was no sooner consecrated than he appointed, in the Emperor's Name, all the Bishops, Abbots, and other Ecclesiastics in the City and Neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, to meet in the Church of St. *Sophia*, and there to examine anew, since the Controversy about Images was revived, and many were offended at the Worship, that was given them, whether that Worship was agreeable or repugnant to the Doctrine of the Apostles and the Fathers. The Patriarch ingenuously owned in the Letter he wrote on this Occasion, that as for himself, he was of Opinion, that such a Worship could not be excused from Idolatry, since in the Old Testament it was expressly forbidden as idolatrous, and was no-where recommended or allowed in the New. However he was willing, he said, and so was the Emperor, to hear what they, who were of a different Opinion, had to offer

in Support of it, and both were ready to receive the Doctrine, that should appear to them the best grounded. He added, that the Question had indeed been already examined, nay and had been decided by two different Councils, viz. those of *Constantinople* and *Nice*, but as their Decisions were diametrically opposite to each other, it might still be looked upon as quite undecided; and he therefore flattered himself that none would object to its being examined anew. In Compliance with the Desire of the Emperor and the Patriarch the Bishops assembled at the Time appointed, and with them a great Number of other Ecclesiastics, and some Abbots and Monks. But the greater Part of the Abbots were diverted by *Theodore* from attending the Council, on Pretence that it was not lawful to re-examine a Doctrine, that had been already examined and defined by a General Council; the insolent Monk had even the Assurance to write to the Council in the Name of all the Abbots, styling them Heretics, and declaring, that if *Peter* and *Paul* were to come down from Heaven, and preach another Gospel (besides that, which teaches the Worship of Images) they would not receive them into their Communion (3).

As the Acts of this Council have not been suffered to reach our Times, nor indeed any Writings whatever against Images, all we know of it is, that the Council of *Constantinople*, forbidding the Worship of Images, was approved and confirmed, and the Council of *Nice* commanding that Worship, anathematized and condemned; that many Bishops as well as other Ecclesiastics, and even some Monks, solemnly renounced the Worship of Images (not convinced, say *Michael* and *Theosterictus*, by Reasons or Arguments, but gained by rich Presents or Promises of greater Preferments), and that those, who on this Occasion changed their Opinion, shewed themselves ever after the most of all averse to Images, and the Worship of Images (4).

(2) Continuat. Anonym. Theoph. Ignat. in vit. Niceph. vit. Theodor.

(4) Mich. & Theosterict. ibid.

(3) Michael. in

Year of  
Christ 818.

*Patriarchs tho' only reckoned the fifth.* He addressees them all with the greatest Submission, prostrates himself at their Feet, and declares himself unworthy of their Notice, but hopes that as our Saviour condescended to receive a Letter from *Abgarus*, nay and to answer it, they will condescend to receive one from him. From these Letters it appears, that Images were every-where cast out of the Churches, and either broken in Pieces, or publicly burnt; that none were suf-

Christians in general, near two Hundred have reached our Times, all calculated to stir them up to Sedition and Rebellion, and encourage them to maintain, and publicly to profess, in Defiance of the Tyrant, the Faith and Religion, which our Saviour himself had taught, that is the Worship of Images, and all true Christians had held and professed, ever since his Time to the present. The Emperor however, sparing his Life, by an Excess of good Nature, contented himself with ordering him to be whipped, to be removed farther from *Constantinople*, and to be more closely confined. But as he still found Means to write and convey Letters to his Brethren in *Constantinople*, most of them filled with bitter Invectives against the Emperor, calling him a Tyrant, an Apostate, a Heretic, an *Ammorhite*, the great Dragon, the crooked Serpent, a Vessel of Wrath, an avowed Enemy to Christ and his Saints, &c. and comparing him to *Og*, King of *Basan*, to *Ahab*, to *Julian*, *Leo* resolved at last to let Justice take Place of Mercy, and order him, since he could by no other Means overcome his Obstinacy, to be publicly executed. But his good Nature still prevailing over his Repentment, he soon changed his Mind, and ordered him only to be conveyed to *Smyrna*, and delivered up to the Bishop of that Place, a Prelate of great Learning, and no less remarkable for his Zeal in promoting the Worship of God alone than *Theodore* was in promoting the Worship of Images. By him the Monk was kept closely confined, and used, if the Author of his Life is to be credited, with the utmost Barbarity till the Death of the Emperor, that is for the Space of two Years (7). As for the other Monks, many of them, standing to the Agreement they had made, contented themselves, without

hearkening to the Suggestions of *Theodore*, with the Liberty the Emperor allowed them of worshipping their Images within the Walls of their Monasteries; and to them no kind of Violence was offered. But those, who still continued, in Defiance of the Emperor and the Imperial Edict, publicly to preach and recommend to the Populace the forbidden Superstition, were all either closely confined, or sent into Exile. And it is observable, that in this cruel and bloody Persecution, as it is stiled and described by the later *Greek* Writers, and after them by *Baronius* and *Maimburg*, one Person only suffered Death, a Monk named *Thadeus*, whom *Bardas*, one of the Emperor's Officers, provoked at his Obstinacy, caused to be whipped with so much Severity, that he expired on the Spot. Indeed Whipping, Confinement, and Exile were the only Punishments the Emperor allowed to be inflicted even on those, who, not satisfied with transgressing his Edict, had the Assurance publicly to revile and insult him as an Apostate from the Faith, as a Heretic, as an Enemy to God and his Saints. And yet the Reader will find this excellent and most humane Prince painted by *Maimburg* as a blood-thirsty Tyrant, as one, who delighted in nothing so much as in Acts of the most barbarous Cruelty, as a *Nero* or a *Dioclesian*. But whether *Leo* or his Grand Monarch best deserved the Name of Tyrant, I shall leave every Man to judge, who compares the Treatment, that the Worshipers of Images met with from the former, after they had provoked him in the Manner we have seen, with the Treatment those, who refused to worship Images, met with from the latter, whom they had no ways provoked.

Paschal.

## BISHOPS of Rome.

197

ferred even on the sacred Utenfils; that all, who had any Images, Pictures, or Books recommending either the Use or the Worship of them, were ordered to deliver them up to the Patriarch or the Imperial Officers; that those, in whose Custody such Books, Images or Pictures were found, were whipped, imprisoned or sent into Exile; that a great many Monks, and all the Bishops but those of *Thessalonica, Ephesus, Nice* and *Nicomedia*, readily complied with the Decree of the Emperor, and that thus was the Worship as well as the Use of Images, which had given Occasion to that Worship, a second Time utterly suppressed throughout the Empire. The Pope was greatly affected with the Sufferings of the Monks, and the other Worshippers of Images, as described, and indeed exaggerated beyond all Measure by *Theodore*: But unable to afford them the least Relief, he contented himself with comforting them by Letters, assuring them, that to suffer for Images was to suffer for Christ; that the Martyrs of Images were Martyrs of Christ, and that the same Reward was reserved in Heaven for those, who suffered under the Iconoclast Emperors for the Sake of Images, that was given to those, who suffered under the Pagan Emperors for the Sake of Christ.

Year of  
Christ 818.

The Pope's  
Answer to his  
Letter.

The four following Years were spent by *Paschal* in rebuilding, repairing, or embellishing with many costly Ornaments several Churches and Monasteries in *Rome*, as is related at length by *Anastasius*<sup>k</sup>, and out of him by *Baronius*. As *Rome* swarmed at this Time with *Greek* Monks, who had fled from *Constantinople*, and the other Cities in the East the Pope built, amongst his other public Works, a spacious Monastery for their Reception, and richly endowed it, that those, who had chosen to quit their Country rather than renounce the Faith, that is the Use and the Worship of Images, might there, as in a safe Port, be comfortably maintained till it pleased God to lay the Storm.

He repairs  
rebuilds and  
enriches many  
Churches.

In the Year 823. *Paschal* had the Satisfaction of receiving at *Rome* *Lotharius*, the eldest Son of the Emperor *Louis*, and crowning him Emperor and King of *Italy*. *Lotharius* had been taken by his Father in 817. for his Partner in the Empire; had been appointed King of *Italy* in 822, and was sent in 823. to take upon him the Government of his new Kingdom. *Paschal* no sooner heard of his Arrival than he invited him by his Legates to *Rome*, received him there with all possible Marks of Respect and Distinction, and on

Crowns Lo-  
tharius Em-  
peror and  
King of Italy.  
Year of  
Christ 823.

<sup>k</sup> Anast. in Pasch.

Easter-



Year of  
Christ 823.

Easter-day crowned him, with the greatest Solemnity, at the Tomb of St. *Peter*, giving him at the same Time the Title of *Augustus*<sup>1</sup>. In many of this Prince's Diplomas the Years of his Empire are reckoned from the Time of his Coronation, that is, from the fifth of *April*, for in 823. Easter fell on that Day. In the Supplement to the History of *Paulus Diaconus* it is said, that on this Occasion the apostolic Pope *Paschal* vested the Emperor *Lotharius* with the same Power over the *Romans* and the City of *Rome*, that had been vested in the ancient Emperors, that is, he yielded to him the Sovereignty of *Rome*: And thus were the Emperors of the West, says F. *Pagi*, made by the Pope Sovereigns of *Rome*, they being better able than he to curb the Insolence of the unruly and mutinous *Romans*<sup>m</sup>.

The Empe-  
rors not made  
Sovereigns of  
Rome by the  
Pope.

But what Acts of Sovereignty or sovereign Power were exercised by the Emperors in *Rome* after the Pontificate of *Paschal*, that were not exercised before it by *Charlemagne*? He coined Money in *Rome*, and sent thither Commissioners from Time to Time to administer Justice, to judge Causes, to try Criminals, and absolve or condemn them, nay and to try the Pope himself<sup>n</sup>. It was not therefore from the Pope *Lotharius* received the Sovereignty of *Rome*, but from his Father *Charlemagne*, who yielded indeed to the Pope the *Dominium utile*, or the Revenues of the City and Dukedom of *Rome*, but kept the Sovereignty to himself. The Popes, it is true, coined Money in *Rome* in *Charlemagne's* Time; but their coining Money is no Proof of their sovereign Power, since they coined Money after *Paschal's* Time, that is when the sovereign Power was, according to all, lodged in the Emperors, and not in them (A). That Privilege was granted them by the Emperors, and by the Emperors the same Privilege was granted to the Dukes of *Benevento*, who acknowledged the Emperors for their liege Lords and Sovereigns (B).

From

<sup>1</sup> Eginhard. in Annal. ad ann. 823.

<sup>m</sup> *Pagi* in Annal. Bar. ad ann. 823.

<sup>n</sup> See above, p. 152.

(A) No Papal Money is to be met with, that was coined before *Charlemagne's* Time, and very few, that were coined after it till the Pontificate of *Leo IX.* raised to the See in 1049. On some of their Coins are only the Names of the Popes, in whose Time they were coined, and on others the Names both of the Popes and the Emperors. Thus on some Silver Coins of *Leo IX.* that have reached our Times, is his Name only. But on one of *Benedict III.* chosen

in 855, is the Figure of St. *Peter* in his Pontifical Attire with the Letters *S. P.* over it, and the Name of the Pope round it, viz. *Benedict P.* On the Reverse is a Hand between the two Letters *R O*, that is *Roma*, and the Emperor's Name *Lodovicus Imp.* round it, *Louis*, the third Son of *Louis the Debonnaire*, being then Emperor.

(B) On one of their Coins is to be seen the Figure of Duke *Grimoald* with his Name

Paschal.

## BISHOPS of Rome.

199

From *Rome* *Lotharius* returned to his Father then in *France*. But scarce was he arrived there when Word was brought him by a Messenger sent from *Rome*, that two of the chief Officers of the *Roman* Church, *Theodore* Primicerius, and *Leo* the Nomenclator, had been apprehended after his Departure, had been carried to the *Lateran* Palace, and had there had their Eyes first cruelly put out, and their Heads afterwards struck off. The Messenger charged the Pope with that barbarous Execution, pretending those unhappy Men had been by him so cruelly used merely on account of their inviolable Attachment to the Emperors, and their known Zeal for the Interests of *France*. The Emperor *Louis*, shocked at such Barbarity, dispatched immediately to *Rome* *Adalunge* Abbot of *St. Vast*, and *Hunfrid* Count or Governor of *Coire*, to inquire into the Fact upon the Spot. But they were not yet gone when *John* Bishop of the *White Forest*, a Bishopric united since to that of *Porto*, and *Benedit* Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, arrived with the Character of the Pope's Legates, being sent by him to assure the Emperors, that he was no ways concerned in, or accessory to the Death of *Theodore* and *Leo*, and beg they would not suffer themselves to be prepossessed against him by the malicious and false Reports of his Enemies. The Commissioners however were ordered to repair to *Rome*: And thither they repaired accordingly, but found the Depositions of the many Witnesses they examined so different and so contradictory, that after all the Pains they had taken they could not in the End, with any Certainty, declare the Pope innocent of the Murder nor guilty. They were therefore obliged, upon his offering to clear himself by an Oath, as his Predecessor Pope *Leo* had done<sup>o</sup>, to acquiesce in the Offer; and he solemnly declared upon Oath, in their Presence, and in the Presence of 34 Bishops, that he was no ways accessory, or privy to the Murder, which his Enemies had maliciously laid to his Charge. He could not however be prevailed upon to deliver up the Persons, by whom the Murder was committed, alleging that they were of the Family of *St. Peter*, that is, his own Servants, and guilty of no Crime or Injustice, since those, whom they put to Death, had long deserved, by their treasonable Practices, the Doom, that in the End overtook them. Here *Baronius*, to prevent his injudicious and un-

Year of  
Christ 823.

Two Persons  
of Rank murdered in the  
Pope's Palace.

The Pope  
sends Legates  
on that Occasion into  
France.

And clears  
himself by an  
Oath.

<sup>o</sup> See above, p. 152.

Name round it, and on the Reverse *Dons* for he was contemporary with *Charles R.* that is *Dominus Carolus Rex, magne.*

Year of  
Christ 823.

distinguishing Readers from concluding, biassed by these Circumstances, that his Holiness was privy to the Murder, and consequently guilty of Perjury, tells us of his miraculously stopping soon after, with his Presence alone, a dreadful Conflagration, that threatened the *Vatican* itself with Destruction. And by him Heaven would never have wrought such a Miracle, as the Annalist well observes, had he been guilty of Murder and Perjury. But the judicious and distinguishing Reader will perhaps be rather inclined to question the Miracle, than allow two Persons of the first Rank in *Rome* to have been put to Death in the Pope's own Palace, and by his own Servants, without his Consent or Privy; and the rather as he approved of the Murder, not only refusing to deliver up the Assassins, but pretending they were guilty, in what they had done, of no Crime or Injustice. The Imperial Commissioners were accompanied, on their Return from *Rome*, by the Bishop of the *White Forest* and three other Legates sent by the Pope to satisfy the Emperor of his Innocence. The Emperor heard them all with great Attention and Patience, but being after he had heard them, quite at a Loss what Judgment to give, he thought it adviseable to forbear all further Enquiries, and acquiesce, as his Father had done on the like Occasion, in the Oath of the Pope. He did not however declare him innocent, but only dismissed his Legates, as *Eginhard* informs us, with a proper Answer, *dato convenienti responso*.

Paschal dies.  
Year of  
Christ 824.

The Legates, on their Return to *Rome*, found the Pope dangerously ill; and he died a few Days after their Arrival, that is, on the tenth of *February* 824, having held the See seven Years and seventeen Days. The *Romans*, believing him guilty, notwithstanding the Oath he had taken, of the Murder of *Leo* and *Theodore*, would not allow him to be buried in the *Vatican*; and he remained unburied till his Successor, chosen after a Vacancy of four Days, caused his Remains to be deposited in the Church of St. *Praxedes*, which the deceased Pope had entirely rebuilt. The *Romans* knew nothing, it seems, of his miraculously saving the *Vatican*, else they had thought him as worthy of a Place there after his Death as any of his Predecessors.

Ebbo of  
Reims preaches the Gospel to the  
Danes.

In *Paschal's* Time, and with his Approbation, *Ebbo*, Archbishop of *Reims*, was sent by the Emperor *Louis* to preach the Gospel to the

P Bar. ad ann. 823. p. 727.

Ludovic. c. 30. Astronom. ad ann. 823.

gusto dunens.

g Eginhard. ad ann. 823. Thegan. de gest.

r Martin. Polon. & Honor. Augustus dunens.

\* Theganus, n. 30.

*Danes.*

*Danes*. The Emperor named him for that Mission; and the Pope, upon his coming to *Rome*, granted him full Power to preach to the Northern Nations, especially to the *Nordalbingi*, or the *Danes*; appointed *Halidgarius*, afterwards Bishop of *Cambray*, to assist him as a Companion in that Undertaking; and furnished him with Letters of Recommendation addressed to the Bishops, Presbyters, Princes, Dukes, Counts, and all Christians in those Parts<sup>s</sup>. The Conversion of the *Danes* was first attempted by *Willibrardus*, as has been related above, and afterwards by the Presbyter *Heridagus*, sent for that Purpose by *Charlemagne* into *Nordalbingia*, or *Denmark*<sup>t</sup>; but both were attended with little Success. *Ebbo* is said to have converted great Numbers<sup>u</sup>; but the Glory of completing the Conversion both of the *Danes* and the *Swedes*, was reserved for *Anscharius*, who employed Thirty-eight Years in that great Work.

Year of  
Christ 824.

In the Fourth Year of *Paschal's* Pontificate, the Emperor *Leo* was barbarously murdered; and *Michael*, surnamed *Balbus*, or the *Stammerer*, was raised to the Imperial Throne in his room. Of this Revolution Historians give us the following Account: *Michael* had served from his Youth in the Army, had distinguished himself, on all Occasions, by the Prudence of his Conduct, as well as his Courage, and had been therefore preferred by the Emperor to the chief Command of all the Forces of the Empire; but, not satisfied with that Station, he began to think of raising himself, as he was greatly beloved by the Soldiery, to the Imperial Dignity. He was therein encouraged by his friends; but the Plot being discovered before it was ripe for Execution, he was seized, tried, and sentenced by his Judges to die in the Flames. The Sentence was to have been executed on *Christmas* Eve; but the Empress *Theodosia* having prevailed on her Husband to put off the Execution till after that Festival, the Criminal found means, during that Interval, to write to his accomplices, threatening to discover them to the Emperor, if they did not attempt, without Loss of Time, his Release. His Letter was conveyed to them by some religious Persons, who had been admitted to him with the Permission of the Emperor; and they no sooner received it, than alarmed at the Danger that threatened them, they resolved to deliver themselves from it by the Death of the Emperor. As *Leo* was therefore to assist very early the next Day, the Festival of

The Emperor  
Leo barbarously murdered.

<sup>s</sup> Annal. Fuld. Flodoart. l. ii. c. 12. Bolland. ad diem 3 Februarii.  
in vit. Anscharii, c. 5.

<sup>u</sup> Flodoart. ubi supra.

<sup>t</sup> Rembart.

Year of  
Christ 824.

our Saviour's Nativity, at divine Service in the Chapel of the Imperial Palace, the Conspirators chose that Time as the most proper for the Execution of their Design; and being accordingly admitted by the *Papias*, or the Door-keeper of the Palace, whom they had gained, amongst the Ecclesiastics who were to officiate, they lay concealed till the Emperor, who took particular Delight in singing Psalms and Hymns, began the first, according to Custom, to sing aloud a Hymn commencing thus, *All Things have they despised for the Love of the Lord*. As that was the Signal agreed on, they started up that Moment, and making all together, with their drawn Swords, towards the Emperor, they first fell, in that Hurry and Confusion, as it was not yet Day-light, on One of the Ecclesiastics, who greatly resembled him in Size and in Stature, and dangerously wounded him. In the mean time the Emperor, apprised of their Design, flew to the Altar, as to a safe and inviolable Asylum; but the Conspirators, pursuing him as soon as they were aware of their Mistake, furiously attacked him on all Sides, striving, without any Regard to the Sacredness of the Place, who should have the Glory and the Merit of putting an End to his Life. However, the brave Prince, as he was quite unarmed, laying hold of the Chain of the Incensory with the one Hand, and snatching with the other the Cross from the Altar, defended himself with great Resolution and Courage, warding off the Blows with the Cross, and returning them with the Incensory, till One of the Conspirators, who in Strength surpassed all the rest, cut off, at One Blow, his Hand, and with it the Cross in Two Pieces. He then fell to the Ground, pierced with numberless Wounds, and covered with his Blood; and One of the Assassins cut off his Head, while the rest continued barbarously mangling his Body even after his Death †.

Leo's Character.

Such was the unhappy and undeserved End of the Emperor *Leo*, surnamed the *Armenian*, after he had reigned Seven Years, Five Months, and Fifteen Days. In him nothing was wanting, if his avowed Enemies are to be credited, but Zeal for the true Faith, that is, for the Worship of Images, to complete the Character of a great and excellent Prince; for he was, even according to them, the best General, and ablest Statesman, of his Time; brave, vigilant, industrious, an Enemy to Pleasure, and a Friend to Virtue. He despised

† Ignat. in Taras. Theodor. studit. ep. 61. Leo Grammat. in Lon. Cedren. in Michael.

Wealth,

Paschal.

BISHOPS of Rome.

203

Wealth, had nothing so much at heart, and ever in the First place consulted, the Welfare of the State, and the Safety of the Subject, sparing no Pains, declining no Danger, to procure the one and the other. He undertook nothing rashly, pursued steadily, but with Discretion and Prudence, and happily accomplished, whatever he undertook. He utterly abhorred all sort of Corruption, had regard, in bestowing his Favours, to Merit alone; and never was known to have preferred any but the most deserving and worthy in the State or the Army. Not satisfied with appointing Men of the greatest Integrity to administer Justice to his Subjects, he administered it himself, hearing Causes Two Days in the Week in One of the great Halls of the Palace, and deciding them with the greatest Exactness and Equity. He was at all Times ready to hear the Complaints, and redress the Grievances, of the meanest of his Subjects; and of this *Cedrenus* gives us the following Instance: As he was One Day coming out of the Palace, a Person of a mean Condition accosting him, begged he would stop for a Moment, and hear him. The Emperor stopped, and heard him with Patience: He complained of a Senator, who, he said, had by Force taken his Wife from him, and detained her: adding, that he had applied to the Prefect or Governor of the City; but applied to no Purpose for Justice. Hereupon the Emperor, returning to his Apartment, sent immediately both for the Senator and the Prefect; and finding the one and the other guilty of the Charge, he dismissed the Prefect that Moment from his Employment, and ordered the Senator to be punished, as convicted of Adultery, according to the Rigour of the Law. Such is the Character *Theophanes*, the Author of the *Miscella*, *Anastasius*, and the Patriarch *Nicephorus*, give us of *Leo the Armenian*, though all his avowed Enemies, on account of his Enmity to Images; nay, the Patriarch *Nicephorus*, tho' driven by him from his See, and sent into Exile, did him the Justice to own, that they had indeed lost a great, though not a good, Prince (a good Prince would never have opposed the Worship of Images!) who had truly at heart the Welfare of the State and his Subjects<sup>u</sup>. His Death was lamented by all but the Monks, and such of the Monks only, as not satisfied with the Liberty the good-natured Emperor had granted them of worshipping what Images they pleased within the Walls of their Monasteries, obstinately

Year of  
Christ 824.

Remarkable  
Instance of  
his Love of  
Justice.

His Death  
lamented by  
all but the  
Monks.

<sup>u</sup> Cedren. in Leon. p. 490. Continuat. Constantin. Porphyrogen.

Year of  
Christ 824.

continued, in open Defiance of his Edicts, to recommend that Worship to the ignorant Multitude. Amongst these, the mad Enthusiast *Theodore*, far from shewing any Kind of Concern or Compassion at the melancholy Account of the Emperor's Death, transmitted to him by One of his Monks named *Naveratius*, could not forbear expressing his Joy, nay, and blasphemously inviting Heaven and Earth, Men and Angels, to rejoice with him at so barbarous a Murder and Parricide. To the many good Qualities which even the Enemies of this excellent Prince have allowed him, we may add his Zeal for the Purity of the Christian Worship (B), the extraordinary Regard he paid to Religion, and to Men truly religious, his great Moderation in the Use of the Power with which he was trusted, and his unparelled good Nature in bearing so long, and punishing in the end with so much Lenity, the unparelled Insolence of the Monks, and reckon him not only amongst the greatest, but amongst the most religious, the most humane, and best natured Princes we read of in History. As for the many absurd, ridiculous, and improbable Stories invented by the later *Greek* Writers to blacken his Character, and from them copied by *Maimburg* in no fewer than 98 Pages <sup>w</sup>, they are only worthy of a Place in the lying Legends of the Monks, who invented them, or in such fabulous Pieces as *Maimburg's* History of the Iconoclasts.

*Michael proclaimed, and crowned.*

The Conspirators, not satisfied with murdering the Emperor in the barbarous Manner we have seen, dragged his Body through the public Streets to the Hippodrome; and leaving it there exposed to public View, that all might know he was dead, they carried *Michael* in Triumph from his Prison to the great Hall of the Imperial Palace, and there placed him, loaded as he still was with his Irons, the Keys of them being no-where found, with loud Acclamations, on the Throne. The same Day he repaired, as soon as his Irons could be got off, to the Church of St. *Sophia*, attended and guarded by all the Conspirators,

<sup>w</sup> Hist. de l' Heres. des Iconoclast. part. ii. a p. 131. ad p. 229.

(B) *Cedrenus*, and after him *Boronius* and *Maimburg*, tell us, that it was not out of any Zeal for Religion that he undertook the Destruction of Images, but because he was foretold by an Iconoclast Hermit and Impostor, that, unless he destroyed all Idols, and banished Idolatry, he would soon lose his Life and the Empire. But *Leo* was a Man of too much Penetration and Sense to give any Credit to such a Prediction. He thought the Worship of Images inconsistent with the Worship of God as commanded in Scripture; found the Advocates for that Worship declined maintaining it against their Antagonists, and therefore proscribed it.

and

## Eugene II. BISHOPS of Rome.

205

and was there solemnly crowned by the Patriarch. The new Emperor issued an Edict, the Third Day after his Promotion, to set at Liberty, and recal from Exile, all who had been confined or banished by *Leo* for the Worship of Images; which gave Occasion to the Monk *Theodore*, who was released with the rest, to stile him, in the famous Letter he wrote to him, a new *David*, a new *Josiah*, a true Follower of Christ\*. But he soon changed his Stile, and had good Reason to change it, as will appear in the Sequel.

Year of  
Christ 824.

MICHAEL BALBUS,  
and his Son  
THEOPHILUS,  
Emperors of the East.

## EUGENE II.

LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE,  
and his Son  
LOTHARIUS,  
Emperors of the West.

### Ninety-eighth BISHOP of Rome.

IN the room of *Paschal* was chosen and ordained, after a Vacancy of Four Days, and consequently on the 14th of *February*, which, in 824, fell on a *Sunday*, *Eugene*, the Second of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Boemund*, and, at the Time of his Election, Archpriest of St. *Sabina*†. He was not chosen without Opposition; but at the same time was chosen another, whom *Onuphrius*, and after him *Ciaconius*, call *Zinzinus*‡, tho' named by no Author I know of who wrote before them. This double Election occasioned such Disturbances in *Rome*, *Eugene* being supported by the Nobility, and his Competitor by the People, that the Emperor *Lewis*, being informed of it by the Subdeacon *Quirinus*, whom *Eugene* had sent to acquaint him with his Promotion, and implore his Protection, thought it necessary to send his Son *Lotharius* into *Italy* to restore Peace to the City. *Lotharius* set out for *Rome* after the Middle of *August*; and finding, on his Arrival there, that the Party of *Eugene* had prevailed in the End, he undertook to reform the Government of the City, and correct the many Abuses that had crept into it. He loudly complained to the new Pope of the Disorders that had happened under his Predecessors in *Rome*; of the little Regard that was shown by the *Romans* to the *French*, and the Emperor himself; of their having put to Death, without consulting him,

\* Apud Bar. ad ann. 821. p. 712, 713.  
† Ciacon. in Eugen. II.

† Anast. in Eugen. II.

‡ Onuph. &



Year of  
Christ 824.

Reforms the  
Government  
of Rome.

Persons intirely devoted to his Service; of their deriding, insulting, and abusing such as were known to be his Friends, and for no other Reason but because they were his Friends; of the many crying Acts of Injustice and Violence, that had been committed with Impunity, through the Ignorance and Indolence of the Popes, and the insatiable Avarice of the Judges. These Evils, he told the Pope, he was determined to redress; and he redressed them accordingly, revising several Causes, and ordering the Estates, that had been unjustly seized and confiscated, to be restored to the lawful Owners. At the same time he issued a Constitution, calculated to prevent such Disorders for the future, and caused it, that none might plead Ignorance, to be published in the *Vatican*. Of the Ten Articles or Heads it contained, the Four following are the most worthy of Notice: I. That none but *Romans* should have a Vote in the Election of the Pope. II. That proper Persons should be appointed, both by the Pope and the Emperor, to inform them yearly how Justice was administered; and that all Complaints should be first brought to the Pope, who might either redress the Grievances complained of himself, or, acquainting the Emperor with them, leave the Care of redressing them to him. III. That the *Romans*, and the People as well as the Senate, should be asked according to what Law they chuse to live (the *Roman*, the *Lombard*, or the *French*) that they may be judged, and condemned or absolved, by the Law, according to which they have chosen to live. IV. That all Dukes, Judges, and other Persons in Authority, should attend the Emperor, when he is in *Rome*, that he may know both their Number and their Names, and put them in mind of their Duty. By the other Articles, the Emperor inculcates due Submission and Obedience to the Pope and his Officers; forbids, and on Pain of Death, any Violence to be offered to such as are under his immediate Protection, or the immediate Protection of the Pope; commands the Goods of the Church, that some had seized and retained, pretending they had been granted to them by the Pope, to be forthwith restored. Lastly, he forbids all Plunder and Rapine at the Death of the Pope, or in his Life-time<sup>b</sup>. The *Romans*, especially the *Roman* Nobility, paid, it seems, very little Regard to the Authority of the Pope; which obliged the Emperors frequently to exert the supreme Power with which they were vested

<sup>b</sup> Sigon. de regno Ital. l. iv. & Holsten. Collect. Rom. Part. ii. p. 242.

both over them and the Popes. They were awed by the Emperors alone, and kept in Subjection; and thence arose that Aversion in them to the *French*, which *Lotharius* complained of to the Pope. The Author of the Life of the Emperor *Lewis*, who wrote at this Time, tells us, that *Lotharius*, reviving while he was at *Rome* an ancient Custom, decreed, that Commissioners should, from time to time, be sent by the Emperor to *Rome*, to hear the Complaints of the People, to see that Justice was duly administered, and to administer it, in Cases of greater Importance, themselves<sup>c</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 824.

*Lotharius* revived, before he left *Rome*, another ancient custom; *Revives the* viz. that the new Pope should not be ordained till his Election was *antient Custom, that the* approved by the Emperor himself, or by the Deputies he should appoint to assist at his Ordination. This Custom was first introduced *Pope should not be ordained, till his* in 483 by *Odoacer*, then Master of *Italy*<sup>d</sup>, was adopted by the *Gothic* Kings his Successors in the Kingdom of *Italy*, and likewise by *approved by the Emperor* the Emperors, upon their recovering that Country from the *Goths*, and re-uniting it to the Empire; and it was punctually complied with by the Popes till the Year 741, when the Power of the Emperors being at a very low Ebb in the West, Pope *Zachary* caused himself to be ordained, without waiting for the Approbation of the Emperor, or asking it<sup>e</sup>. This usurped Independence the Popes enjoyed from the Time of *Zachary* to the present Year 824, when *Lotharius*, claiming all the Rights the Emperors of the East had enjoyed while Lords of *Rome*, revived the ancient Custom. I do not find that the Pope offered to dispute his Right, or any-ways to oppose such a Regulation; nay, as Parties and Factions ran at this Time very high in *Rome*, the great Families all striving, upon the Decease of the Pope, to raise One of their Friends, Relations, or Dependents to the Chair, which, at every Vacancy, gave Rise to endless Disturbances, *Eugene* is said to have, on this Occasion, readily concurred with the Emperor, and to have himself drawn up an Oath, calculated to re-establish the antient Custom, and obliged all his Clergy to take it. The Form of the Oath was; I I L L (these Letters stood formerly for the Name of the Person, as the Letter *N* does now) *promise by the Omnipotent God, by the Four holy Gospels, by this Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the Body of the blessed St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, that, from this Time forward, I shall be unfeignedly*

<sup>c</sup> Auct. vit. Luodvi. Pii.

<sup>d</sup> See Vol. II. p. 193.

<sup>e</sup> See Vol. III. p. 311.

Year of  
Christ 824.

*faithful to our Lords the Emperors Lewis and Lotharius, saving the Faith I have promised to the Apostolic Lord; that I shall consent to no Election of a Pontiff for this See that is not canonical; and that he, who shall be chosen, shall not be consecrated, with my Consent, till he has taken, in the Presence of the Emperor's Deputy, and the People, such an Oath as Pope Eugene prescribed, of his own Accord, for the Safety and Welfare of all* (C).

*A solemn  
Embassy sent  
by the Empe-  
rors of the  
East to the  
Emperor  
Lewis.*

Lotharius had not yet left Rome, when Embassadors from the Emperors Michael, and his Son Theophilus, whom Michael had taken for his Collegue in the Empire, arrived in France, having been sent by those Princes to confirm the Treaties of Friendship and Peace concluded between Charlemagne and their Predecessors in the Empire, and at the same time to engage the most powerful King of the Franks, and, by his Interposition, the most holy Patriarch of Rome, to concur with them in healing the Divisions, that the Dispute about Images had occasioned, and still kept alive in the Church. Michael was himself quite averse to the Worship of Images; but, having nothing so much at Heart as to see Peace restored in his Days to the Church, he had left nothing unattempted he could think of to reconcile the Two Parties, and thus put an End to the unhappy Dispute. With that View he had issued an Edict, when he was yet scarce warm on his Throne, to release and recal all the Bishops and Monks, whom his Predecessor had confined, or sent into exile, for obstinately maintaining, in Defiance of his Edicts, and recommending to the Populace, the Worship of Images. He had flattered himself that he should thus have engaged them to hearken at least to an Accommodation; and he appointed accordingly a Synod to meet soon after their Return, inviting to it the leading Men of both Parties, not to dispute, but to consult, in an amicable Manner, about the Means of bringing to a happy Issue the intended Reconciliation.

*The Patrons  
of Images re-  
fuse to assist  
at a Council.*

But at that Synod the Patrons of Images, to the great Disappointment of the Emperor, obstinately refused to assist or appear, alleging that it was not lawful for them to form One Council with Heretics; nay, on this Occasion they wrote, at the Instigation of the Monk

\* Supplement. Longbartic. & in Libel. de Episcop. Meterf.

(C) Of this Oath no Notice is taken by Baronius, by Natalis Alexander, or by Papebroke, in speaking of Pope Eugene, probably because they looked upon it as

supposititious. But it is to be found, and almost verbatim, in the Diplomas of the Emperors Otho I. and Henry I. lodged in the Castle St. Angelo at Rome.

*Theodore,*

*Theodore*, a Letter to the Emperor, supposed to be penned by that Incendiary, to tell him, that he was not to concern himself with religious Affairs; that Points of Faith and Religion were only to be discussed and determined by the Successors of the Apostles, the Five Patriarchs; and, if they could not be conveniently assembled, Recourse was to be had to the First Patriarch, the Successor of St. *Peter*, and all were to stand to his Judgment and Decision. This insolent Conduct the Emperor bore with incredible Patience; nay, instead of resenting it, and sending them that Instant all back to the Places of their Confinement and Exile, he granted them an Audience, upon their desiring to be heard by themselves, as they could have no Communication with Heretics, received them in a most obliging Manner, and having heard all they could offer in Defence of themselves and their Images, told them, that he never had worshipped Images himself, and was not yet convinced that they were to be worshipped; but nevertheless, as he was not for offering Violence to any Man's Conscience, he granted them full Liberty to set up and to worship what Images they pleased; but upon the following Conditions: I. That as he worshipped none, none should be set up in the Imperial City. II. That, to prevent the superstitious Practices of the ignorant Multitude, they should be placed in all Churches and Oratories out of their Reach. III. That, to put an End to so long and so fatal a Dispute, an intire Silence should be observed by Men of both Parties concerning the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of setting up Images, or worshipping them, as if no such Controversy had ever been heard of in the Church. That Silence he strictly enjoined by an Edict, declaring, that he did not take upon him to determine so important a Question; but thought it his Duty, as he was trusted with the Care of the Church as well as the State, to procure the Peace and Tranquillity of the one as well as the other, and had, with that View alone, imposed Silence on both Parties indifferently, since neither would yield to the other, and Disputes rather served to divide them still more than to unite them in one Mind. With that Edict, how just soever and reasonable, the Patrons of Images refused to comply, claiming, with the turbulent Monk *Theodore*, and at his Instigation, an unrestrained Liberty not only of professing themselves, but of preaching to others, the true Catholic Faith, and reclaiming such as had been seduced by the Heretics to their impious Sect. That Liberty they assumed, without any Regard to the express Prohibition

Year of  
Christ 824.

*The Emperor  
injoins Silence  
with respect  
to the Wor-  
ship of Ima-  
ges, and pu-  
nishes such as  
do not comply  
with that In-  
junction.*

Year of  
Christ 824.

of the Emperor, stirring up the Populace to maintain what they called the Apostolic and ancient Practice of the Church, and damning all who opposed it, as Enemies to Christ and his Saints. Their Conduct obliged the Emperor to change his; and he now resolved to proceed against them, as they were not to be gained by gentle Methods, with the same Severity that his Predecessor had used. The Prefect of the Imperial City was accordingly ordered, and so were the Governors of the Provinces, to cause the Imperial Edict, injoining Silence, to be strictly complied with in their respective Jurisdictions, and to spare none, whether Ecclesiastics or Laymen, who should presume to transgress it. Pursuant to that Order, the Monk *Theodore*, and with him most of the Monks whom the Emperor had lately recalled, were sent back into Exile; others were publicly whipped, and, to prevent the Disturbances they might raise, shut up in Dungeons, or confined to the most distant and inhospitable Places of the Empire &c.

*His Letter to  
the Emperor  
Lewis.*

This wholesome Severity had the wished-for Effect; the Zeal of the Monks was damped in the End; the Imperial Edict was strictly complied with, and Peace by that means, for the present, restored, throughout the Empire, to the Church. And it was to justify his Conduct to the Emperor of the West, as well as to the Pope, and at the same time to engage them to concur with him in preventing all further Disputes, and uniting the East and the West in one Faith, that *Michael* sent the solemn embassy, mentioned above, into *France*. The Embassadors, who were all Persons of Rank and Distinction, brought a Letter from the Two Emperors *Michael* and his Son *Theophilus*, to the Emperor *Lewis*, with the following Direction; *In the Name of the Father, of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, One God, Michael and Theophilus, Emperors of the Romans, to their beloved and honoured Brother Lewis, the renowned King of the Franks and the Lombards, who styles himself their Emperor.* By the Words, *who styles himself their Emperor*, they declared, and very unseasonably, that they did not acknowledge the King of the *Franks* for lawful Emperor, tho' he had an unquestionable Right to that Title, in virtue of several Treaties between *Charlemagne* and the preceding Emperors, and by One concluded a few Years before between *Lewis* himself and the Emperor *Leo*, the immediate Predecessor of *Michael*.

& Georg. Monach. in *Michael*. p. 510. Theodor. Studit. in epist. apud Bar. ad ann. 821. Cedren. *ibid*.

## Eugene II. BISHOPS of Rome.

211

in the Empire. In the Letter, the Two Emperors notify, in the First place, to their beloved Brother the King of the *Franks*, their Accession to the Imperial Throne, and at the same time excuse their having so long delayed to acquaint him therewith, and to sue for his Alliance and Friendship. That Delay they ascribe to a War kindled in the Bowels of the Empire by an Usurper and Impostor named *Thomas*, who, pretending to be *Constantine* the Son of *Irene*, had thereby seduced such Numbers both of the People and the Soldiery, as had enabled him to defeat the Imperial Army, to over-run all *Syria* and *Asia*, to reduce many important strong-holds, and at last to lay Siege to the City of *Constantinople* itself, and keep it besieged a whole Year. They add, that, by the particular Assistance of the Almighty, they had prevailed in the End, had defeated the Usurper, had obliged him to fly for Refuge to the City of *Adrianople*, which City they had reduced after a Five Months Siege, and put to Death both him and his Son, having first caused their Hands and their Feet to be cut off. The Emperors take no Notice of the Assistance they received from the King of the *Bulgarians*, who, marching unasked to the Relief of *Constantinople*, gained the First Victory over the Usurper; and to the First the other Victories were all, in a great measure, owing.

Year of  
Christ 824.

In the next place, the Emperors, to justify their Conduct with respect to the Worshippers of Images, give an Account of the many superstitious Abuses that had begun to prevail in that Worship, and of the Methods they had employed to reform them; adding a Confession of their Faith, to confute the Calumnies of the Monks, who, flying from *Constantinople*, and the other Cities of the Empire, to *Rome*, had represented them there not only as Heretics, but as Persecutors of the Catholic Church, and Enemies to Christ and his Saints. Of the many Abuses that had crept into the Worship of Images, and were patronized by those who worshipped them, they take notice of the following: *viz.* that they had banished the Cross from the Churches, and set up Images in its room, giving the same Honour to them they gave to the Cross; that they burnt Lights and Incense before them, sung Hymns in their Honour, implored their Assistance, and carrying them to the sacred Font, made them Godfathers and Godmothers to their Children; that some Priests, scraping off the Colours from their Pictures, mixed them with the Wine of the Eucharist, and gave the Wine, thus mixed, to the People; that others,

Abuses introduced by the  
Worshippers  
of Images.

Year of  
Christ 824.

putting the Body of our Lord into the Hands of Images, obliged those, who received it, to receive it from them; that the sacred Mysteries were by many celebrated not in Churches, or upon Altars, but in private Houses, and upon Pictures. These, and many like superstitious Practices, the orthodox Emperors, say they, whose Example they thought themselves bound to follow, had undertaken to suppress, and with that View ordered, after advising with the most Learned of the Clergy assembled in Council, such Images to be removed out of the Churches as were within the Reach of the People, but allowed those to remain that were not, to the end they, who beheld them, might be put in mind of the Objects they represented, without being tempted to kiss them, to burn Lights or Incense before them, or give them any kind of Worship whatever.

Michael's  
Confession of  
Faith.

In the Third place, the Emperors give an Account of their Faith; declaring, that they receive the Six General Councils; that they profess the Doctrine defined by those Councils, and hold all the Traditions that are truly Apostolical, or have been acknowledged as such by the Fathers. By declaring they received the Six General Councils, they tacitly rejected the Council of *Constantinople* under *Copronymus*, commanding Images to be cast out of the Churches, and broken, as well as the Council of *Nice* under *Irene*, ordering them to be worshipped; the one being acknowledged by the Iconoclasts, and the other by the Patrons of Images, for the Seventh. They close their Letter with the warmest Protestations of Friendship and Esteem for their Brother the King of the *Franks*, earnestly entreating him, as they had charged their Embassadors to return by *Rome*, and there to negotiate an Union between the East and the West, to second him in so pious an Undertaking, and interpose his Authority in driving from *Rome* the wicked Incendiaries, who, flying from the East, had taken Refuge in that City; and, misrepresenting to the Pope and his Clergy the Doctrine of the *Greeks*, strove by that means to obstruct the Union, and widen the Breach between the Two Churches <sup>b</sup>.

Presents  
brought by his  
Embassadors  
for the Em-  
peror Lewis  
and the Pope.

The Embassadors brought with them some valuable Presents for the Emperor *Lewis*, among which were the Works, as was then supposed, of *Dionysius the Areopagite*, never before seen nor heard

<sup>a</sup> Epist. Imp. ad Ludovic. apud Bar. ad ann. 824.

of in *France* (D); and some for the Pope; viz. the Book of the Gospels, covered with Gold, a Chalice and a Patten, or its Cover, likewise of Gold; and all Three enriched with precious Stones <sup>1</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 824.

These they were, on their Arrival at *Rome*, to offer at the Tomb of St. *Peter*, in the Name of the Two Emperors. As the Emperor *Lewis* was employed in reducing the Rebels of *Normandy* when the Embassadors arrived in *France*, they waited his Return at *Rouen*, and there he received them with all possible Marks of Honour and Esteem, accepted their Presents, renewed the Alliance between the Two Empires, and, commending the Zeal of their Masters in striving to suppress the superstitious Worship of Images, and re-unite the East and the West in one and the same Faith, he promised to assist them to the utmost of his Power in so meritorious an Undertaking.

The Embassadors, encouraged with the Reception they met with, suggested to the Emperor, pursuant to their private Instructions, the Assembling of a Council in *France*, to examine the Doctrine and the Practice of the *Greeks* with respect to the Use and the Worship of Images. *Michael* well knew, that the Emperor *Lewis*, and the *French* Nation in general, agreed in both with him and the *Greeks*; that they allowed, agreeably to the Doctrine of the Council of *Frankfort*, and the *Caroline* Books, the Use, but condemned the Worship, of Images, and consequently rejected with him, both the Council of *Copronymus* and the Council of *Irene*. He therefore flattered himself, that the *Gallican* Clergy, finding the Doctrine of the *Greeks* intirely agreeable to their own, would look upon their Cause as their own, would espouse it as their own, and prevail upon the Pope to hearken to an Accommodation, or at least restrain him from anathematizing the *Greeks* as Heretics, for holding a Doctrine that was common to them and the *French*.

The Embassadors propose the assembling a Council in France, to examine the Doctrine of the Greeks in relation to Images.

The Emperor *Lewis* readily agreed to the Assembling of a Council, as was suggested by the Embassadors, in order to examine the Doctrine of the *Greeks* with respect to the Use and the Worship of

The Emperor Lewis agrees to the Proposal.

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.

(D) As no Mention is made by *Eusebius*, by *Jerom*, by *Gennadius*, or by any other Writer, till after the Fifth Century, of any Books written by *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, and, in some of those that are ascribed to him, Notice is taken of several

Practices that were not introduced before the Time of *Constantine the Great*, the Books, that go under his Name, are now universally supposed to have been written by another *Dionysius*, who flourished long after the *Areopagite*.

Images;



Year of  
Christ 824.

Images; but apprehending that the Pope might resent the Assembling of a Counsel, without his Knowledge or Consent, to examine a Doctrine that his Predecessors had already examined and condemned, and be thereupon tempted to reject all Proposals of an Accommodation between the East and the West, he resolved first of all to acquaint his Holiness with the Request of the Embassadors, and obtain his Consent to comply with it. For that Purpose *Freculphus*, Bishop of *Lisieux*, and *Adegarius*, were sent to *Rome*; and the Pope, highly pleased with so remarkable an Instance of filial Submission in his Son the Emperor, consented at once to his gratifying the Embassadors, and assembling, with that View, the Clergy of his Kingdom. The Emperor therefore, upon the Return of the Deputies, appointed, without Loss of Time, the Bishops, and most learned Ecclesiastics of his Kingdom, to meet, and examine the Doctrine of Images, as taught by the Churches of *Constantinople* and *Rome*; to inquire into the Subject of Disagreement and Dispute between the Two Churches with respect to that Article, and suggest to him the Means, that, upon mature Deliberation, should appear to them the best calculated to reconcile and unite them in one Faith. The Council met in the

The Council  
meets at  
Paris.

Year of  
Christ 825.

royal Palace at *Paris*, on the First of *November* in the present Year 825. Of what Number of Bishops and other Ecclesiastics it consisted, History does not inform us; but it is certain that most of the Bishops of *France* and of *Germany* were present, and among the rest *Ago-bard*, the famous Bishop of *Lions*, *Jeremiab* Bishop of *Sens*, *Jonas* Bishop of *Orleans*, *Haligarius* Bishop of *Cambray*, *Amalarius* Bishop of *Treves*, *Freculphus* and *Adegarius*, mentioned above, *Theodomin*, Abbot of a Monastery in *France* of 140 Monks, *Dungalus* Monk of the Monastery of *St. Denis*; all Persons of unexceptionable Characters, and deservedly reckoned, as appears from their Writings, amongst the most learned Men of the Age.

They declare  
it lawful to  
set up Images,  
but unlawful  
to worship  
them.

The Council being met, the Letter of Pope *Hadrian* to the Emperors *Constantine* and *Irene*, in favour of Images<sup>k</sup>, was read in the First place, and received as recommending the Use, but rejected as commanding the Worship, of Images; it being lawful, said they, to set up Images, but unlawful to worship them, *cum eas erigere licitum, adorare vero nefas sit*. They observe, that, in the same Letter, the Passages, alleged by the Pope out of the Fathers to support his Opinion, were all misapplied, and quite foreign to his Purpose;

<sup>k</sup> See above, p. 79—82.

*valde absona, et ad rem, de qua agebatur, minime pertinentia.* Indeed no Man can peruse that Letter, and not acquiesce in their Censure. The same Censure they passed on the Second Council of *Nice*, expressing great Surprize at the Presumption and Ignorance of the Fathers of that Assembly in commanding Images to be worshipped, in calling them holy, and thinking that Holiness might be acquired by them. At the same time, they found great Fault with the Council of *Constantinople* under *Coprenymus*, ordering Images, that put us in mind of the Objects they represented, and enlivened by that means our Devotion, to be cast out of the Churches, and broken.

Year of  
Christ 825.

In the next place, the Council caused the Confutation of the Council of *Nice* by *Charlemagne*, known by the Name of the *Caroline Books*<sup>1</sup>, to be read, and Pope *Hadrian's* Answer to that Confutation. The *Caroline Books* they intirely approved, as plainly containing the Doctrine of the primitive Church and the Fathers. But of *Hadrian's* Answer they deliver their Opinion in the following Terms: *The Pope, say they, still approving the Acts of that Council (the Council of Nice) in spite of all the Arguments urged by Charlemagne against it, obstinately continued to support those who had argued so absurdly, alleging what occurred to him, but not what became him, to excuse them. For in his Answer are many Things alike repugnant to Truth and Authority. However, in the End of his Apology, he declares, that, as to the Subject in Dispute, he agrees in Opinion with the holy Pope Gregory (Gregory the Great, teaching that we are neither to break Images, nor to worship them) shewing thereby, that it was not designedly, but ignorantly, he went astray from the right Path; and that he would have fallen into the Abyss of Superstition, had he not been with-held from it by the Doctrine of that holy Pope.*

Pope Hadrian  
an severely  
censured by  
the Council.

Lastly, the Fathers of the Council ordered the above-mentioned Letter of the Emperor *Michael* to the Emperor *Lewis* to be read; and, upon the Whole, concluded, *that Images are not to be broken, are not to be cast out of the Churches, nor even removed in the Places of Worship out of the Reach of the People; but though they are to be preserved for the Sake of those whom they represent, we are by no means to serve, worship, or adore them, agreeably to the Doctrine of the blessed Pope Gregory*<sup>m</sup>.

Decree of  
the Council.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 121.

<sup>m</sup> Goldast. Confit. Imper. tom. i. p. 154, 155,

Year of  
Christ 825.

Their Letter  
to the Empe-  
ror Lewis.

The Council being ended, the Bishops wrote a Letter in common to the Emperor *Lewis*, to acquaint him with their Proceedings, and the Judgment they had given of the Point in Dispute between the Churches of *Constantinople* and *Rome*; viz. that both Churches were highly to blame, the one for worshipping Images, the other for breaking them; but that it was a far greater Crime to worship than to break them. In the same Letter they tell the Emperor, that the superstitious Worship of Images had taken deep Root at *Rome*, as they were informed by *Freculphus* and *Adegarius*, lately returned from that City; that it was countenanced there, and promoted by those, whose Duty it was to oppose it, meaning the Popes, and was therefore incumbent on so Christian a Prince to remove the Scandal it gave to all good Men, and abolish a Practice that Ignorance had introduced, and Custom established. They added, that, in so nice and important an Affair, he must proceed with the utmost Caution and Prudence, not openly disapproving what the Apostolic See had approved; but only expressing an earnest Desire of seeing Peace restored to the Church, and begging his Holiness to interpose the Authority with which he is vested, and cause the Doctrine to be universally received, that should be found, upon searching the Scriptures, and the Writings of the Fathers, the most agreeable to both. With that Letter the *Gallican* Bishops sent to the Emperor a large Collection of Passages out of the Fathers, all calculated to prove, that Images, according to them, were neither to be worshipped, nor cast out of the Churches, and broken. But against destroying, and banishing them out of the Churches, not One Father is quoted of the Three first Centuries; and the Testimonies alleged out of those of the following Ages, only prove, that some Advantages attend them, and that they might be consequently set up in Places of Worship, provided Care were taken that no Kind of Worship was given them. As the Emperor was, on this Occasion, to write to the Pope, the Bishops of the Council drew up, and sent him, before they parted, a Sketch of the Letter, they thought, he should write, and likewise of the Letter they wished the Pope could be persuaded to write to the Two Emperors *Michael* and *Theophilus*. Both Letters turned upon this, that, as the Use of Images is neither commanded nor forbidden in Scripture, they, who chuse to have any, be allowed to have them, but not to worship them; and they, who chuse to have none, be not obliged to have any; and that neither presume to find Fault with

with the other, since neither can be charged with practising what is forbidden, or not practising what is commanded by lawful Authority. Year of  
Christ 825.

The Proceedings of the Council, and the Means they suggested of putting an End to so long a Dispute, were highly approved by the Emperor; and he immediately dispatched *Jeremiah of Sens*, and *Jonas of Orleans*, to acquaint his Holiness with them, and try to divert him, if by any means they could, from countenancing a Worship, that gave so great Offence both to the *Greeks* and the *Gallican* Bishops. Their private Instructions were, to use, in treating with the Pope, the utmost Circumspection, advancing nothing rashly, or that he could take amiss; to read over together, with the greatest Care and Attention, the Passages the Council had collected from the Scriptures and the Fathers against the Worshipping of Images, and chuse out of them those that were most to the Purpose, and such as neither the Pope nor his Council could reasonably object to; to affect, above all things, great Moderation in their Conferences with his Holiness, not openly contradicting him, but striving to bring him, by their Complaisance and Condescension, to hearken to Reason; but if he obstinately withstood all their Endeavours, and still continued deaf both to Reason and Authority, yet to take care not to be wanting in the Respect that is due to his Dignity, but modestly representing to him the many Evils that attend the present Disagreement between the East and West, leave his Holiness to find out, and employ, the Means, that should appear to him, in his great Prudence and Discretion, the best calculated to redress them. *Who sends  
Two Bishops  
to acquaint  
the Pope with  
the Result of  
the Council.  
Instructions  
given them.*

By the same Bishops, the Emperor wrote a most obliging Letter to the Pope, in his own Name, and in the Name of *Lotharius* his Son, and Colleague in the Empire; recommending to him the *Greek* Embassadors, sent by the Emperors *Michael* and *Theophilus*, to negotiate an Union between the East and the West, and earnestly entreating him to hearken to their Proposals, to pity the distracted State of the Church, and concur with him in composing the Differences, that had so long subsisted between the Churches of *Constantinople* and *Rome*. What Reception the Two Bishops met with from the Pope no Writer has informed us; nor what was transacted at *Rome* by the *Greek* Embassadors; or at *Constantinople* by *Halit-* *Lewis's Letter to the Pope.*

\* Goldast. p. 160—180.

Year of  
Christ 825.

The Doc-  
trine of  
the Gallican  
Church at  
this time con-  
cerning Ima-  
ges.

They did not  
believe the  
Pope inca-  
pable of err-  
ing.

*garius* Bishop of *Cambrai*, and *Hufridus* Abbot of *Nonantula*, whom *Lewis* sent, on this Occasion, with the Character of his Embassadors, into the East. All we know for certain is, that the Pope still continued to defend and promote the Worship of Images, though condemned in the strongest Terms by the *Gallican* Bishops; that he would hearken to no Terms of Agreement excluding that Worship; and that thereupon some of the most eminent Men for Piety and Learning in the *Gallican* Church, siding with the *Greeks*, undertook to impugn it. Amongst these *Claudius* Bishop of *Turin*, perhaps the most learned Man of that Age, declared, in a Treatise he wrote on this Occasion, not only against the Worship, but against the Use of Images as well as the Worship, and caused them all, nay, and with them the Cross, to be cast out of the Churches throughout his Diocese, and consigned to the Flames. That Treatise was answered by *Jonas* of *Orleans*, who, tho' no less averse to the Worship of Images than *Claudius* himself, was yet for retaining them as Books for the Ignorant, and Helps to Devotion. But, on the other hand, *Agobard* was of Opinion, and that Opinion he maintained with great Erudition and Learning, that Images rather hinder than help true Devotion, and ought therefore to be excluded, as they were by the primitive Fathers, from all Places of Worship and Devotion<sup>p</sup>. However, that they were neither to be broken, nor to be worshipped, was, it must be owned, the received Doctrine of the *Gallican* Church at this time; and that Doctrine they continued to profess, as will appear in the Sequel, long after the Ninth Century, retaining Images as Ornaments, as Books for the Ignorant, as Helps to Memory, but giving them no Kind of Worship, and charging those with Idolatry, who gave them any.

To conclude: From what has been said, it is manifest beyond all Dispute, I. That the Authority of the Pope was not yet, that is, so late as the Ninth Century, thought decisive by the *Gallican* Bishops, nor he thought infallible, or incapable of erring, since they condemned, and condemned with one Voice, a Doctrine as erroneous and heretical, which so many Popes had taught *ex cathedra*, and defined. II. That those Bishops did not believe themselves bound to receive a Council as œcumenical, tho' received as such by the Pope; nor bound to submit to its Decisions, tho' approved and confirmed by the Pope; but thought themselves at full Liberty to receive

or reject them. III. That to reject a Council, and the Definitions of a Council, received by the Pope as oecumenical, was not at this time deemed Heresy, since the Pope did not, as appears from History, declare the *Gallican* Bishops Heretics on that account, or exclude them from the Communion of the Apostolic See. Year of Christ 826.

Of Pope *Eugene* we hear no more till the Year 826, when he assembled a Council in *Rome*, consisting of 63 Bishops, 17 Presbyters, and some Deacons; all from the *Italian* Provinces subject to the Emperor *Lewis*, or the Pope. By that Council were issued 38 Canons; all calculated to restore the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and encourage Learning both sacred and profane<sup>9</sup>. The Pope assembles a Council in Rome.

The following Year the Pope died; but, as to the Time of his Death, we only know, that it happened in the Month of *August* 827, the contemporary Historians all telling us he died in that Month, but not One of them mentioning the precise Day on which he died. As he was ordained on the 14th of *February* 824, and died in *August* 827, he must have held the See at least Three Years and Five Months. Eugene dies. Year of Christ 827.

MICHAEL and  
THEOPHILUS  
Emperors of the East.

VALENTINE,

LEWIS THE DEBON-  
NAIRE and LOTHAR-  
RIUS, Emperors of the  
West.

*Ninety-ninth* BISHOP of Rome.

*EUGENE* was succeeded by *Valentine*, chosen, as is commonly supposed, after a few Days Vacancy. He was a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Peter*, and, at the Time of his Election, Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church. He was greatly esteemed and beloved by the Two preceding Popes *Paschal* and *Eugene*, especially by the latter, who is said to have cherished him as his Son, and to have kept him constantly with him in the Palace<sup>r</sup>. Valentine chosen. Year of Christ 827.

From the Account *Anastasius* gives of the Ordination and Installation, or, as it is called, Inthronation, of this Pope, we learn the Particulars of both these Ceremonies. The new Pope was, according to that Account, attended by the *Roman* Clergy, the People, and the Senate, to the *Vatican*, was there first ordained, then placed His Inthronation.

<sup>9</sup> Eginhard. in annal. Lab. Concil. c. 8. Natal. Alex. sect. 9. part. i. art. 4.  
<sup>r</sup> Anast. in Valent.

Year of  
Christ 827.

in the supposed Chair of St. *Peter*, and from thence conducted in great Pomp, after he had performed divine Service, to the *Lateran* Palace, where he was introned, or set upon the Pontifical Throne, and acknowledged by the Nobility and the Senate prostrating themselves before him, and kissing his Foot, amidst the Acclamations of the People. When the Ceremony was ended, the Pope gave a great Entertainment to the Chief of the Clergy, and the Officers of State, and enriched, to use the Word of *Anastasius*, with many Gifts, the Clergy, the People, and the Senate<sup>1</sup>.

*His Death.*

*Valentine* enjoyed his new Dignity but a very short Time, according to some, scarce One Month<sup>2</sup>; according to others, Forty Days<sup>3</sup>. He must therefore have died in the latter End of *September*, or the Beginning of *October*, of the same Year in which he was chosen. Indeed, from this Time to the Middle of the Eleventh Century, no Writer I know of, besides *Anastasius*, has been so accurate and exact as to mention the Months or the Days that each Pope sat above the whole Years; and in *Anastasius* the Numbers have been so altered, through the Inaccuracy or the Ignorance of the Transcribers, that, with respect to them, no Two Copies agree. We must therefore, henceforth, be satisfied with ascertaining the Number of the Years, and guessing, where we can, at that of the Months and the Days.

THEOPHILUS  
Emperor of the  
East.

GREGORY IV. LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE  
and LOTHARIUS, Emperors  
of the West.

*The Hundredth Bishop of Rome.*

Gregory  
died.

*VALENTINE* being dead, *Gregory*, the Fourth of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, the Son of one *John*, and Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, was either immediately, or after a very short Vacancy, for we read of no Opposition, raised to the See in his room. However, as his Ordination was delayed, till the Emperor, then in *France*, was acquainted with his Election, and it was examined and confirmed by Deputies from thence sent to *Rome*<sup>4</sup>, we cannot well suppose him to have been ordained till the latter End of the present Year.

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid. & Mabill. in comment. ad Ord. Roman. n. 18. in annal.

<sup>2</sup> Liber Pont. Luitprand. Martin. Pelon. &c. Auctor vit. Lud. Pii Annalist. Bertin.

<sup>3</sup> Eginhard. in

<sup>4</sup> Eginhard. in annal.

## Gregory IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

221

Of this Pope nothing occurs in History, worthy of Notice, till the Year 833, when he interposed in the Quarrel between the Emperor *Lewis* and his Three Sons, *Lotharius*, *Pepin*, and *Lewis*. Of that Quarrel, of the Disturbances attending it, of the Part the Pope acted in it, the contemporary Historians give us the following Account : Quarrel between Lewis the Debonnaire and his Three Sons. Year of Christ 833.

The Emperor had, ever since the Year 817, divided his Dominions, after the Example of his Father *Charlemagne*, amongst his Children. *Lotharius*, his eldest Son, he had chosen for his Successor in the Empire, and taken him for his Colleague; to *Pepin*, his Second Son, he had given the Kingdom of *Aquitaine*; and to *Lewis*, the youngest of the Three, the Kingdom of *Bavaria*. This Division was approved by the general Assembly of the States at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; the Three Princes were crowned there with great Solemnity; the Act of Settlement was sent to the Pope; and the Two Kings, repairing, as soon as they were crowned, to their respective Kingdoms, were everywhere received with loud Acclamations, and by all acknowledged for their lawful Sovereigns. But the Empress *Hermengard*, their Mother, dying the following Year 818, the Emperor was prevailed upon by his Nobles, apprehending him inclined to resign the Crown, and lead a retired Life, to marry again; and he married *Judith*, Daughter to Duke *Welfo*, descended from a very ancient Family, and at that time One of the most powerful and illustrious in *Bavaria*. In 823, the Empress was delivered of a Son, who was called *Charles*, and is known in History by the Name of *Charles the Bald*. His Birth obliged the Emperor to make a new Division of his Dominions in favour of the young Prince, born after the former Division, and consequently left intirely to the Mercy of his Brothers. He published accordingly an Edict at *Worms* in 829, settling on Prince *Charles* the Country of the *Alemans*, or the Country lying between the *Mein*, the *Rhine*, the *Neckar*, and the *Danube*, all *Rhetia*, now the Country of the *Grisons*, and that Part of the Kingdom of *Burgundy*, that extends beyond Mount *Jura*; that is, the Country of the *Swiss*, and *Geneva*.

As the Share given to *Charles* was taken out of the largest of the Three, or out of that which *Lotharius* was to succeed to as Emperor, he loudly complained of the Injustice, as he called it, done him, and resolved to leave nothing unattempted, that, he thought, could prevent the new Division from taking place. With that View he gave out, and so did all his Friends and Adherents, who were very

nume-



Year of  
Christ 833.

Charge  
brought  
against the  
Empress Ju-  
dith, who is  
shut up in a  
Monastery.

numerous, that the Empress *Judith*, a true Step-mother, was determined to raise her Son to the Imperial Throne, and pave the Way for him to it by the Destruction of the whole Imperial Family; that, to the great Disgrace of the Crown, she entertained a criminal Commerce with Count *Bernard* her principal Minister; that she had, in Conjunction with him, banished all Men of Conscience and Honour from the Court, and was concerting such Measures as must end, if not timely defeated, in the Ruin of the Emperor, and all his true Friends. These Reports, tho' probably destitute of all Foundation, alarmed not only the Kings of *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria*, and some of the great Lords of the Empire, but several of the most eminent Men in the Church for Probity, Wisdom, and Learning; among the rest *Bernard* Bishop of *Vienne*, *Agobard* Bishop of *Lions*, *Jesse* Bishop of *Amiens*, *Hilduin* Abbot of *St. Denys*, and *Wala* Abbot of *Corbie*, reckoned the greatest Saint of the Age. These holy Men, giving intire Credit to the Reports they heard, and thereupon declaring all Enemies to God and his Church, who did not concur with them in reforming the Court, and effectually providing for the Safety of the Imperial Family against the wicked Attempts of the Empress and her favourite Minister, easily prevailed, first on the King of *Aquitaine*, and afterwards on *Lotharius*, and the King of *Bavaria*, to join them. The King of *Aquitaine*, drawing together his Troops in great Haste, surprised the Cities of *Orleans* and *Laon*; and finding the Empress in the latter, the Emperor being then waging War with the Rebels in *Britany*, after reproaching her with her scandalous Conduct, and the evil Designs she had formed against him and his Brothers, he obliged her to take the religious veil in the Monastery of *St. Radegonde* of *Poitiers*.

The Emperor received, at the same time, the News of this Revolt and the Captivity of the Empress; and, struck with Astonishment at so bold an Attempt, he left *Britany*, and marched without Delay, but under the greatest Concern, against his Son. But the King of *Aquitaine* being, in the mean time, joined by his Brother *Lotharius*, at the Head of a very numerous Army, and the Emperor's Troops, Officers as well as Soldiers, deserting to them daily in whole Bodies, the unhappy Prince, thus left, in a short Time, almost alone,

The Emperor  
delivers him-  
self up to his  
Son Lotha-  
rius.

was obliged to deliver himself up, with his Son *Charles*, to the Rebels. *Lotharius* treated him, in Appearance, with great Respect; but left him no Kind of Power or Authority, nothing but the bare

Title

## Gregory IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

223

Title of Emperor; and of that Title too he flattered himself he should prevail on the States, that were soon to meet, to divest him, and oblige him to resign the Crown, and retire to a Monastery. But, in the mean time, the Kings of *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria*, jealous of the Power; and offended at the arbitrary and despotic Conduct of their Brother, began to think of abandoning him, and being reconciled with their Father. They were encouraged in that Thought by a Monk, named *Gombaud*, in whom they placed great Confidence; and by his means, as he was a Man of great Address, the Reconciliation was soon brought about. *Lotharius*, finding himself thus abandoned by his Brothers, and his Party thereby weakened, in proportion as his Father's was strengthened; thought it adviseable to follow their Example, lest, by his Obstinacy, he should forfeit, in the End, all Share in his Father's Dominions, and with it his Life, or his Liberty. As he was the first and chief Author of all the Disturbances, and his Submission was forced, and not voluntary, the Emperor, at the same time that he added some Cities and Territories to the Share of his Brothers, divested him of the Imperial Dignity, declared the Subjects of the Empire absolved from the Oath of Allegiance they had taken to him as Emperor, and leaving him only the Title of King of *Italy*, strictly enjoined him to undertake, even there, nothing of Moment without his Consent <sup>2</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 833.

The Emperor  
and his Three  
Sons recon-  
ciled.

Thus was Peace restored to the Empire; but it was short-lived: The Three Brothers revolted soon after anew, and were, by an Excess of Goodness, forgiven anew by the Emperor. His matchless Indulgence and good Nature encouraged the King of *Aquitaine* to revolt the Third time; which so provoked the Emperor, that he was easily prevailed upon by the Empress (who was returned to Court, her Profession, as it was forced, having been declared null by the Pope and the Bishops) to disinherit *Pepin*, and give the Kingdom of *Aquitaine* to her Son Prince *Charles*. *Lotharius* wanted no better Pretence to fly to Arms, and try to recover his forfeited Dignity. He was then in *Italy*; and being sensible that he could by no other Means more effectually strengthen his Party, and disguise the Injustice of his Cause, than by engaging the Pope to espouse it, he applied to *Gregory*; and pretending he had nothing in View but to defeat the wicked Designs of the Empress, at whose Instigation the Empe-

His Son Lo-  
tharius rebelled  
anew;

<sup>2</sup> Thegan. c. 35-40. Vit. Lud. Pij, ad ann. 829-832. Nithard. vit. Wal. Albat. Eginhard. &c.

Year of  
Christ 833.

ror, divesting himself of his natural Tenderness, had degraded him, tho' solemnly crowned by the holy Pope *Paschal*; had disinherited his Brother *Pepin*, to make room for her Son; and was pursuing such Measures as must inevitably kindle a civil War in the Bowels of the Kingdom; he begged his Holiness to second him in an Undertaking, that would recommend him to the Love and Esteem of all good Men, of all the true Friends of the Emperor, of the Imperial Family, and the Empire.

and persuades  
the Pope to  
attend him  
into France.

The Pope, believing all he said to be true, readily agreed not only to interpose his good Offices in his behalf, but to attend him in Person into *France*, and there mediate a Reconciliation between him and his Father. *Lotharius* was then upon the Point of setting out for *France*, at the Head of a considerable Army he had raised in *Italy*, not with a Design, as he pretended to the Pope, of defeating the ambitious and wicked Designs of the Empress, but to drive his Father from the Throne, and seize on the Empire. Having thus gained, or rather deceived, the Pope, he began his March, attended by him, and some of the chief Men of his Clergy, giving everywhere out, as he entered *France*, that his Holiness, fully satisfied of the Justice of his Cause, had zealously espoused it, and was come from *Italy* on Purpose to excommunicate the Emperor, and the Bishops of his Party, if an End was not put to the unjust Persecution of his innocent Children. These Reports, industriously spread abroad by *Lotharius* and his Friends, had the wished-for Effect; and Men flocked to him from all Parts, persuaded he had Justice on his Side, since the Pope had declared in his favour.

The Emperor  
forbids the  
the Bishops  
to wait on  
the Pope.

In the mean time the Emperor, hearing, to his inexpressible Surprise, that the Pope was come into *France* with *Lotharius*, and taking it for granted that he had gained him over to his Cause, wrote a circulatory Letter to the Bishops, to put them in mind of their Allegiance, and forbid their waiting on the Pope, or entertaining any Kind of Commerce with him so long as he continued with the Rebels; nay, he charged *Agobard*, Bishop of *Lions*, to write against the Pope, and expose his Conduct, at the present Juncture, in siding with a Son, who had set up the Standard of Rebellion against his Father. *Agobard*, tho' a Prelate of a most unexceptionable Character, and One of the most learned in *France*, was most unaccountably prejudiced against the Empress and the Ministers; and therefore, instead of writing against the Pope, or blaming his Conduct, he

Conduct of  
Agobard,  
Bishop of  
Lions, on  
this Occasion.

## Gregory IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

225

he wrote a Letter to the Emperor, entreating him not to quarrel with his Holiness, but to treat him with all the Respect that was due to his Character. Were the Pope come, said he, to raise Disturbances in the Kingdom, or to foment those that have already been raised, you might and ought, in that Case, to drive him out with Shame and Disgrace; but, as he has undertaken this Journey with no other View but to re-establish Peace and Tranquillity, by removing the Cause of all the Disturbances, you ought not only to receive but obey him. *Agobard* pretended, that the Disturbances were all owing to the Intrigues of bad Counsellors, and the wicked Measures suggested by them; that the Emperor could not in Conscience annul the Act of Settlement, after it had been confirmed in a general Assembly of all the States of the Empire, and approved by the Pope; that as the Empire was, by that Act, settled on *Lotharius*, and the Kingdoms of *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria* on *Pepin* and *Lewis*, he could not, without the greatest Injustice, take from them what he himself, and with him the whole Nation, had given them. He added, that the Pope, sensible of the Injury that was done them, and well apprised of the Malice and Craft of designing and evil-minded Men, was come into *France*, to interpose his good Offices; nay, and to exert, if his good Offices proved unsuccessful, all his Authority in behalf of their oppressed Innocence. He closed his Letter with telling the Emperor, that having taken an Oath of Allegiance to *Lotharius* as Emperor, he thought himself bound by that Oath to join and support him.

Year of  
Christ 833.

On the other hand, the Bishops of the Emperor's Party, hearing that the Pope had attended *Lotharius* into *France*, with a Design, as was given out, to excommunicate the Emperor and his Friends, agreed, at a Meeting they had on that Occasion, to write a Letter to him in common, and try to divert him from so rash and unprecedented an Attempt. In the Letter they tell him, that the News of his Arrival in *France* had given them great Joy, as they flattered themselves he was come with no other View or Design but to interpose his good Offices, and mediate a Reconciliation between the contending and opposite Parties; and they would therefore have gone out to meet him, had they not been restrained from shewing him that Mark of Regard by an express Command from the Emperor;

Letter from  
the Bishops of  
the Empe-  
ror's Party  
to the Pope.

† Agobard. de comparat. utriusque regimin.

Year of  
Christ 833.

that if what they all heard was true; *viz.* that his Holiness was come to excommunicate the Emperor, and his Friends, it could not be expected they should shew him any kind of Regard; and the Emperor had done well in forbidding all Intercourse between his loyal Subjects and him; that an Excommunication so unjust, so contrary to the Practice and Canons of the Church, would reflect no less Disgrace on the Pontifical Authority, that would thereby be brought into Contempt, than on the Imperial Dignity; that, if he came to excommunicate, he might return excommunicated, *si excommunicatus veniret, excommunicatus abiret*; that, in so presumptuous an Attempt, he would meet with a more vigorous Resistance from the *German* and *Gallican* Bishops than perhaps he expected; that, if he did not change his Mind, they would not allow his Authority to be acknowledged in *France*, or in *Germany*. In the Close of their Letter, they put him in mind of the Oath of Allegiance he took to the Emperor upon his Promotion; and even threaten to depose him for presuming to come into *France* with the Emperor's Enemies, and without his Permission. They likewise threaten with Degradation the Bishops, who, unmindful of their Allegiance, had joined the Rebels; adding, that should their Obstinacy oblige the Emperor to proceed to Extremities, the Sentence pronounced against them would be irreversible<sup>2</sup>.

The Pope's  
Answer to  
their Letter.

This Letter alarmed the Pope; but being encouraged by *Wala* Abbot of *Corbie*, and his Companion *Paschasius*, pretending that the Vicar of St. *Peter* was empowered by God to determine all Differences whatever, and that all Men were to be judged by him, and he by none, he answered the Bishops in a Style that gave great Offence both to them and the Emperor, and left no room to doubt but he had been gained over to the Party of the Rebels. He begins his Answer with upbraiding them for styling him at the same time Pope, that is, Father and Brother; Titles that he thinks incompatible; and tells them, that they should only have given him the Title of Father, as the more respectful of the Two; as if it were Presumption in the *Gallican* Bishops to call him their Brother, tho' no Title was more frequently given by the other Bishops to the Pope, nor by the Pope to other Bishops, as might be shewn by innumerable Instances. They styled him Father and Brother *in the Lord*; and in that Sense the

<sup>2</sup> Epist. Greg. IV. ad Episcopos Francorum, & Vita Walæ.

## Gregory IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

227

Year of  
Christ 83.

Two Titles are not incompatible. In the Second place, the Pope finds Fault with the Bishops for not coming out to meet him, but suffering themselves to be diverted, by the Command of the Prince, from shewing him that Mark of Respect that was due to his Character; and wonders they did not know, that the spiritual Government of Souls ought to take place of the temporal Government of Princes and Kings; that is, in other Words, they ought to obey him rather than the Emperor, and, to wait on him, should have disobeyed an express Command of their Leige Lord and their Sovereign. He advises them to imitate the Freedom of the holy Pope *Gregory*, who was not afraid to tell the Emperor, that he too was One of his Flock; that he ought to hearken to him, and act agreeably to his Directions. But the Freedom taken by Pope *Gregory* was only with respect to Matters of Faith and Religion, as is plain from his Words, and not to civil Matters, as in the present Case, and merely political, that have no kind of Connection with Faith or Religion. The Bishops had put the Pope in mind of his Oath of Allegiance; and, in Answer to that, he tells them, that, by his Oath, he is bound to give the Emperor good Advice; to acquaint him with his own Faults, and those of his Ministers; to rebuke him if he does not correct them, and suggest to him such Measures as seem the best calculated to re-establish Peace and Tranquillity both in the State and the Church; that for these Purposes alone he is come into *France*: Whereas they, betraying their Trust, and prostituting their Honour as well as their Consciences, to the Will of their Prince, have, by a Breach of their Oath, encouraged him in all his bad Measures, and ought therefore to be charged with the Evils attending them. By *bad Measures*, the Pope means the Emperor's divesting *Lotharius* of the Imperial Dignity, and *Pepin* of his Kingdom, tho' they had forfeited both by their Rebellion. As for their threatening to excommunicate him, or have him deposed, he bids them Defiance, as they can lay no heinous Crime to his Charge, no Theft, no Murder, or Sacrilege; which was tacitly owning, that he might be excommunicated and deposed, were he guilty of any such Crimes. In the End of his Letter, he delivers it as his Opinion, gained over, no Doubt, by *Agobard*, and the other Bishops and Monks of that Party, that the Emperor ought to stand to the Division he had formerly made of his Dominions, and could not, in Justice, deprive any of his Children of the Share allotted them; condemning thereby the Conduct of the

Year of  
Christ 833.

Father, and justifying that of the Children in rebelling against him. And could not the Emperor, who made the Division, for just Reasons alter it? Did not the Birth of a Son after that Division, fully justify the Alteration he made? Was that Son to be left to the Mercy of his Brothers, that is, quite destitute? What the Pope observes in his Letter, is true, *viz.* that they had all taken an Oath of Allegiance to *Lotharius* as Emperor; but that Dignity he had forfeited by his Rebellion, and, under a less merciful Parent, would have forfeited his Life or his Liberty as well as his Dignity. The Oath, therefore, they had taken to him was no longer binding; but as that was still binding they had taken to the Emperor, it was a Breach of his Oath in the Pope to join the Rebels; and no Breach of their Oath in the Bishops, but Duty and Loyalty, to stand by the Emperor.

*The Pope  
sent by the  
Rebels to the  
Emperor.*

*How re-  
ceived.*

The Pope's Letter was immediately communicated to the Emperor; who no longer doubting but the Rebels had gained him to their Party, and at the same time sensible that his Presence, as it authorized, in a manner, their Rebellion, would daily draw great Numbers of Ecclesiastics, and, by their means, Men of all Ranks, to their Party, thought it adviseable to put the Whole, without further Delay, to the Issue of a Battle. The Kings of *Aquitaine* and *Bavaria* had joined *Lotharius* when he first entered *France*; and they were all Three encamped between *Bale* and *Strasbourg*. Against them the Emperor marched at the Head of his Army; but they, well apprised that the longer they delayed giving Battle, the more sure they would be of the Victory, as many, abandoning the Emperor, came daily over to them, bethought themselves of sending the Pope to negotiate, as they pretended, a Reconciliation between them and their Father, but, in Truth, with no other Design but to gain Time, and acquire new Strength, as they daily did. The Pope, whom they used on this, and had used on all other Occasions, as a mere Tool, proud of his Commission, immediately repaired to the Emperor's Camp, that was but at a small Distance from that of the Rebels. The Emperor received him at the Head of his Army, with great Coldness, treated him as his Vassal, and severely rebuked him for abusing the Authority his Character gave him, to encourage Children in an unnatural Rebellion against their own Father; for presuming to come into *France* without his Leave, which none of his Predecessors had had the Assurance to do; and for striving to seduce, by his Letters,

the Bishops, who, in Compliance with their Oaths and their Duty, had sided with him. The Pope strove to appease him; assuring him, that he was come into *France* with no other Design but to re-establish Concord and Peace in the Imperial Family. Hereupon the Emperor, willing to hearken to any reasonable Terms of an Accommodation, ordered him to be conveyed to his Quarters, and at the same time dispatched *Bernard*, Archbishop of *Vienne*, to treat, in his Name, with the Three Princes, and try to bring them to a Sense of their Duty. The Pope continued some Days in the Camp; and having had, during that time, several Conferences with the Emperor, he was sent back, upon his promising to employ his good Offices with the Princes, and to return in a short Time to acquaint him with the Success that might attend them. But the Night after he left the Emperor's Camp, and he left it on St. *Peter's* Day, he was followed by almost the whole Army; insomuch that the unhappy Prince, finding himself abandoned by all, and at the same time so closely besieged by the Rebels, that it was in vain for him to attempt an Escape, was obliged to deliver himself up, with the Empress, and his Son *Charles*, into the Hands of his rebellious Children. By them he was deposed; and *Lotharius* being proclaimed Emperor in his room, he was confined to a Monastery, obliged to own Crimes he had never committed, and thereupon to exchange, as really guilty of those Crimes, the Imperial Robes for the Habit of a Penitent <sup>a</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 833.

*The Emperor  
delivers him-  
self up to the  
Rebels.*

*Baronius*, undertaking the Defence of the Pope, pretends, that his Holiness never declared for, or took part with, the Rebels <sup>b</sup>. But the Letter he wrote to the *Gallican* Bishops, quoted above, is a full Answer to all that the Annalist has alleged, or that can be alleged, to clear him from countenancing so unnatural and so wicked a Rebellion. However, he seems to have borne no Ill-will to the Emperor, but to have been imposed upon by those of the opposite Party, and to have given intire Credit to the many false Reports that were by them industriously spread abroad to colour their wicked Designs; viz. that the Empress had gained an absolute Ascendant over the Emperor; that he was wholly governed by her Counsels; that all the Disorders in the State and the Church, which they exaggerated beyond all Measure, were owing to her; that she aimed at nothing less than the Destruction of the whole Imperial Family to make room for her Son; and that it was not against the Emperor, but

*The Pope  
how far to  
blame in this  
Affair.*

<sup>a</sup> Vit. Lud. Pii. Vit. Walæ. Thegan. &c. <sup>b</sup> Bar. ad ann. 833. p. 823.

against



Year of  
Christ 833.

against her, and in their own Defence, that the Three Princes had taken up Arms. These Reports the Pope too rashly believed; and he is therein greatly to blame. But he was, it seems, undeceived by the Emperor, in the Interview he had with him: For we are told by a contemporary Writer, that, being sent back after that Interview to treat with the Rebels, he was for returning to the Emperor's Camp; but they did not think it adviseable to let him return<sup>c</sup>. *Theganus* Bishop of *Treves*, who was probably at this very time in the Field with the Emperor, writes, that *Lewis*, after having conferred with the Pope, sent him many valuable Presents; which it is not at all likely he would have done, had the Pope still maintained the Cause of the Rebels, and justified their Rebellion. Some Writers, as ready to charge the Popes with Crimes, of which they were innocent, as *Baronius* is ready to clear them from the Crimes of which they are guilty, ascribe to the Intrigues of *Gregory* the general Desertion that ensued in the Imperial Camp the Night after he left it, as if he had laid hold of the Opportunity he had, while in the Camp, to debauch and gain them over to the Rebels. But of this his pretended Treachery not the least Hint is given by the Writers of those Times; and his proposing to return to the Emperor, clears him sufficiently from that Imputation.

The Emperor  
restored.

The Emperor did not long continue in the deplorable Condition, to which the Treachery of his Subjects, and the Perfidy of his Children, had reduced him. The barbarous Usage he met with from *Lotharius*, softened the other Two Princes; and Compassion prevailing over all other Regards, they rescued him the very next Year out of his Hands, and replaced him, to the great Satisfaction of all Ranks of Men, on the Throne. But as the Pope was no-ways concerned in his Restoration, I shall refer the Reader, for the Particulars attending it, to the Writers of those Times.

The Pope  
fortifies  
Ostia.

Year of  
Christ 834,  
835.

The Rebels, having no further Occasion for the Name or Authority of the Pope, when they had once got the Emperor into their Power, allowed him to return to *Rome*; and there he employed himself the Two following Years, 834, 835, in repairing and adorning the Churches and Monasteries of that City, and in rebuilding and fortifying the City of *Ostia* against the Incurfions of the *Saracens*, who began to infest the neighbouring Coast. That City he intirely rebuilt, surrounded it with a very high Wall, and a deep Ditch,

## Gregory IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

231

fortified it with many strong Towers, and placed a great Number of warlike Engines on the Towers and the Wall, to throw Stones, and repulse the Barbarians. The City, thus rebuilt and fortified, he called, from his own Name, as *Frodoard* informs us, *Gregoropolis*<sup>d</sup>; but it soon resumed its ancient Name, and by that Name it is known to this Day.

Year of  
Christ 835.

In the mean time, the Emperor, having settled the Affairs of the Empire to his intire Satisfaction, and apprehending no further Disturbances from his Subjects or his Children, resolved to undertake a Journey to *Rome*, to visit the holy Places there, and confer with the Pope; but being diverted from that Journey by a sudden Irruption of the *Normans* into *Friesland*, he sent the Abbot *Adrebold* to *Rome*, to advise with the Pope, in his Name, concerning some particular Affairs not mentioned by the Historian. The Pope received the Abbot with extraordinary Marks of Respect and Esteem, expressed great Joy in hearing that all Matters were settled to the Satisfaction of the Emperor, and, tho' greatly indisposed, and troubled with a Bleeding at the Nose, that had lasted some time, he had several Conferences with the Envoy, and, upon his Departure, appointed Two Bishops to attend him into *France*, with a Letter, which they were to deliver into the Emperor's own Hands. They set out together from *Rome*; but, on their Arrival at *Bologna*, the Two Bishops were stopt by an Order from *Lotharius*, who was then at *Pavia*, and commanded to proceed no farther. They complied with the Order; but privately delivered the Letter they were charged with to *Adrebold*, who got it conveyed by One of his Domestics, in the Disguise of a Beggar, into *France*; and there it was returned to him, and by him delivered to the Emperor<sup>e</sup>. *Lotharius* had lately suffered his Men to pillage some Lands belonging to the Church of St. *Peter*; and he probably apprehended, that the Two Bishops were sent by the Pope to complain of that Outrage to the Emperor.

The Abbot  
Adrebold sent  
by the Empe-  
ror to Rome.  
Year of  
Christ 836.

In the Pontificate of Pope *Gregory*, in what Year we know not, occurs a remarkable Instance of the Authority exercised by the Imperial Judges in *Rome*. I have observed elsewhere, that the Emperors, as supreme Lords of *Rome*, used, from time to time, to send Judges to administer Justice there; to hear the Complaints of the People; to redress their Grievances; and finally to determine all Causes both

Authority of  
the Imperial  
Judges in  
Rome.

<sup>d</sup> Frodoard. in frag. de Pont. Rom. apud Mabill. sect. 3. Benedict. part. 2.  
<sup>e</sup> Auët. vit. Lud. Pii.

Year of  
Christ 836.

civil and criminal. To these Judges *Ingoald* applied, then Abbot of the Monastery of *Farfa* in the Dukedom of *Spoleti*, complaining, that the Popes *Hadrian* and *Leo* had seized by force, *per fortiam*, on Five Possessions or Farms belonging to the above-mentioned Monastery; that the Monastery had reclaimed those Possessions of the Three succeeding Popes, *Stephen*, *Paschal*, and *Eugene*, but always in vain; that, instead of restoring them, they had even pretended, that they had always belonged to the Apostolic See, and had never been possessed by the Monastery. The Judges hearkened to the Complaints of the Abbot, and the Cause was tried in the *Lateran* Palace, the Pope himself being present, and with him several Bishops, and other Persons of Rank and Distinction. The Abbot, to make good his Claim, produced the original Instrument of the Donation of those Lands made to the Monastery, and likewise the Charter of *Desiderius*, the last King of the *Lombards*, and of *Charlemagne*, who succeeded him in that Kingdom. But *Gregory*, the Pope's Counsel, questioning the Authenticity both of the Instrument and the Charters, which, if allowed to be authentic, would at once have put an End to the Dispute; the Judge, at a loss what to determine, declined coming to any Determination that Day, probably that the Instrument and the Charters might, in the mean time, be examined by Persons skilled in such Matters with more Care and Attention. But the next Day, several Persons appearing, of unexceptionable Characters, and deposing, upon Oath, that, in their Memory, the disputed Lands had been possessed by the Monastery, and quietly possessed, till Pope *Hadrian* seized them, they knew not upon what Pretence; they were adjudged to the Monastery, and a Decree was issued, ordering them to be forthwith restored. The Pope, one should think, would have acquiesced in so just a Sentence, and restored, without Hesitation, to the lawful Owners, what so plainly appeared to have been unjustly seized by his Predecessors. But with those good Bishops it was a Maxim, so far as we can judge from their Conduct, to part with nothing they had once acquired, by what means soever they had acquired it: *Gregory* therefore, instead of complying with the Sentence, and the Decree of the Judges, however equitable, appealed from them to the Emperor; but with what Success we know not.

<sup>2</sup> Chronic. Farf. apud Mabill. in Museo Italic. t. i. part. 2. p. 62.

Of this Pope I find nothing else recorded that is worthy of Notice till the Time of his Death, which happened, according to the most probable Opinion, on the 25th of *January* 844, after he had governed the *Roman* Church Sixteen Years, and some Months and Days<sup>g</sup>. He is said by some to have died on the 25th of *January* 843; but with them *Easter-day*, or the 25th of *March*, was the First Day of the new Year.

Death of  
Gregory.  
Year of  
Christ 844.

Two Letters, ascribed to *Gregory*, have reached our Times; the one restoring *Ebbo* Archbishop of *Reims*, deposed in 835, as One of the chief Authors of the late Rebellion, to his former Dignity and his See<sup>h</sup>. But as from History it appears, that *Ebbo*, after the Death of *Gregory*, applied to his Successor, begging to be restored, and was only admitted by him to Lay Communion, the Letter of *Gregory*, To the Bishops and Orthodox Christians, commanding the Bishop of *Reims* to be re-instated in his Dignity, is now universally looked upon as supposititious<sup>i</sup>. By the other Letter, the Pope appoints *Anscharius*, who had converted the *Swedes* and *Danes* to the Christian Faith, Legate of the Apostolic See to all the Northern Nations of *Germany*, approves the erecting the City of *Hambourg*, where *Anscharius* was to reside, into an Archiepiscopal See, and confirms all the Privileges granted to that See by the Emperor.

MICHAEL  
Emperor of the East.

## SERGIUS II.

LOTHARIUS  
Emperor of the West.

*The Hundred and First BISHOP of Rome.*

IN the room of *Gregory* was chosen, and ordained on the 10th of *February*, which, in 844, fell on a *Sunday*, *Sergius*, the Second of that Name, the Son of one *Sergius*, a Native of *Rome*, and Archpriest of the *Roman* Church<sup>k</sup>. He was not chosen without Opposition: *John*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, supported by the Populace, took Possession by Force of the *Lateran* Palace; and having driven *Sergius* from thence, was placed by the Populace in the Pontifical Chair; but he was soon driven out, in his Turn, by the *Roman*

*Sergius* elect-  
ed, and his  
Competitor  
driven from  
the See.

<sup>g</sup> Sigibert. Marian. Sift. Herman. Contract. annal. Bertin. Sigon. Onuph. &c.

<sup>h</sup> Concil. t. viii. p. 1575.

<sup>i</sup> Vide Sirmond. in Append. ad Concil. Gall. t. iii.

<sup>k</sup> Anast. in Serg. II.

Year of  
Christ 844.

The Emperor  
resents his be-  
ing ordained  
before his  
Election was  
confirmed by  
him.

His Son  
Lewis lays  
waste the  
Roman Ter-  
ritories.

Nobility, who would have put him to Death, had not *Sergius* interposed in his favour <sup>1</sup>.

As the new Pope was ordained as soon as elected, *Lotharius*, who had succeeded his Father in the Imperial Dignity ever since the Year 840, heard at the same time of his Election and Ordination; and highly provoked at his having been ordained before his Election was examined and confirmed, according to Custom, by him, or his Deputies, he dispatched his eldest Son *Lewis*, whom he had appointed King of the *Lombards*, with a powerful Army into *Italy*, to take Possession of his Kingdom, and at the same time to examine the Election of the Pope, to chastise the *Romans* for their Presumption, and order Matters so as to prevent their encroaching for the future on the just Rights of his Crown. The young Prince was attended by a great many Bishops, and other Persons of Distinction, among whom was his Uncle *Drogo* Bishop of *Mets*; and, upon his entering the Ecclesiastical State, he committed every-where most dreadful Ravages, put great Numbers of the Inhabitants to the Sword, burnt their Habitations, and turned the whole Country, through which he passed, into a Desert. However, as he bent his March towards *Rome*, the Pope sent out all the Judges and Magistrates to meet him, while yet at the Distance of Nine Miles from the City. He was received, when One Mile from the Gate, by all the *Roman* Militia, by the Nobility, and Part of the Clergy, and attended by them singing his Praises, and by the People welcoming him with repeated Acclamations, to the *Vatican*. There the Pope, with the rest of the Clergy, waited his Arrival on the Top of the Steps leading up to the Church; which the King ascending, he embraced the Pope, and taking hold of his right Hand, they thus advanced together to the Door of the Church; but, when they were upon the Point of entering the Basilic, the Pope, unexpectedly stopping, ordered all the Doors to be shut; and then turning to the King, *If you come*, said he, *as a Friend, and for the Good of the State, and this Church, I shall order the Doors to be opened; if not, they shall not be opened by me, nor by my Command*. The King, not a little surprised at the Resolution of the Pope, assured him, that he was come with no evil Intention; which he had no sooner done, than the Doors were opened, and the King, entering the Church with the Pope, was conducted by him to the Tomb of *St. Peter*, the Clergy singing in the mean time,

<sup>1</sup> Anast. in Serg. II.

*Blessed is he who cometh in the Name of the Lord.* There Thanks were returned, with great Solemnity, to God, and his Apostle, for the safe Arrival of the King; who, taking leave of the Pope when Prayers were ended, returned, attended by all the *Roman* Nobility, to his Camp. He had signified to the Pope his Desire of being crowned and anointed by him King of the *Lombards*; and that Ceremony *Sergius* performed the following *Sunday*, the 15th of *June*, with the greatest Pomp and Magnificence <sup>m</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 844.

He is crown-  
ed by the Pope  
King of Italy

*Lewis*, tho' well pleased with the Reception he met with at *Rome*, and the uncommon Regard the *Roman* Nobility paid him; yet, to punish them for suffering the new Pope to be ordained before his Election was approved by the Emperor, he allowed his Army to pillage their Farms, to lay waste their Lands, and to live as in an Enemy's Country. The City would, in all Likelihood, have fared no better than the neighbouring Country, had not the Pope, apprehending the Danger, ordered all the Gates to be shut, and the Walls to be Night and Day guarded by the *Roman* Militia. In the mean time, the King's Camp was filled with Bishops from the different Provinces of *Italy*, come, upon their hearing that the King and the Pope were at Variance, to complain of the daily Usurpations of the Popes, and the Tyranny they exercised over them and their Sees. Amongst these were the Archbishops of *Ravenna* and *Milan*, and no fewer than Thirteen Bishops immediately subject to the Apostolic See; and they all greedily laid hold of the present Opportunity, encouraged, says *Anastasius*, by the Archbishop of *Mets*, to redeem themselves from so galling a Yoke. The King, glad of any Pretence to humble the Pope, not only hearkened to the Complaints of the Bishops, but ordered them to be examined by the Bishops who were with him, and likewise by the Counts, of whom *Anastasius* names Seven, assembled in Council, and summoned the Pope to appear before them, and justify the Conduct of his See. That Council *Anastasius* styles a *Cabal against the universal Church, and Head of all Churches*. The Pope, however, obeyed the Summons, and, if we may credit that Writer, answered the Complaints of his Adversaries with such Prudence and Wisdom, as confounded and silenced them all <sup>n</sup>. The King was probably satisfied with having thus humbled and mortified the Pope for suffering himself to be ordained without the Knowledge and Consent of the Emperor.

<sup>m</sup> Anast. ibid.

<sup>n</sup> Idem ibid.

Year of  
Christ 844.

The Pope and  
the Romans  
take an Oath  
of Allegiance  
to the Empe-  
ror.

Before the Council was dismissed, *Drogo* moved, that an Oath of Allegiance might be taken to King *Lewis* by the Pope, and the Roman Nobility and People. But this Motion, tho' seconded by all the *Gallican* Bishops, was vigorously opposed by the Pope; declaring, that they were all ready to swear Allegiance to their great Emperor *Lotharius*,; but that he neither would take such an Oath himself, nor suffer the *Romans* to take it to the King of the *Lombards*. The Motion was therefore dropt; and both *Drogo* and the King contented themselves with the Pope's taking, in their Presence, together with the *Romans*, the usual Oath of Allegiance to the Emperor°. And hence it is manifest, that the Pope and the *Romans* acknowledged the Emperor for their Leige Lord; and that the King of *Italy* could exercise no Power or Authority, but in the Emperor's Name, over them or the City.

The Pope ap-  
points *Drogo*  
his Vicar in  
France and  
Germany.

As great Confidence was reposed in *Drogo* by the Emperor, as well as the King, and he bore great Sway in both Courts, the Pope, to gain so powerful a Protector, appointed him, before he left *Rome*, his Vicar in *France* and in *Germany*, with a Power over all those Churches and Bishops, to be controuled by none but the Pope himself, as the immediate Vicar of St. *Peter*. In the Letter *Sergius* wrote on this Occasion to the Bishops of *France* and *Germany*, he bestows the highest Encomiums upon *Drogo*; acquaints them with his having preferred him, in Consideration of his high Birth, and his eminent Virtues, to the Dignity of his Vicar; and requires them to obey him in all Things, as acting in his Name, and by the Authority of his See. But *Drogo* finding, upon his Return to *France*, the *Gallican* Bishops too jealous of their Liberties, and too much upon their Guard against all Papal Encroachments, to acknowledge his unbounded Authority, he wisely forbore exercising or claiming any over them, or their Churches; and he is on that Account highly commended by *Hincmar*, as chusing rather to forego his Power, than to maintain it at the Expence of the public Peace and Tranquility<sup>p</sup>. Happy had it been for the Church, had all Bishops, especially the Bishops of *Rome*, been actuated by such Christian Principles: But alas! what greater Disturbances have been raised by the Ambition of temporal Princes in the State, than by the Ambition of these spiritual Princes in the Church? And what else is the History of the Church, to the great Disgrace of the Christian Religion, but the

*Drogo's Con-  
duct on that  
Occasion.*

° Idem ibid.

<sup>p</sup> *Hincmar. ep. 44. & l. vii. Concil. p. 1799.*

## Leo IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

237

History of Anti-christian Disputes and Quarrels of Churchmen about Power and Pre-minence?

Year of  
Christ 844.

The King renewed, during his Stay at *Rome*, the Imperial Edi&ct, forbidding the Pope, how canonically soever elected, to be ordained, till his Election was approved and confirmed by the Emperor; severely reprimanded the Pope, as well as the People and Clergy, for having presumed to transgress that Edi&ct, and recommended to all the strict Observance of it, on Pain of incurring the Displeasure of the Emperor, and his. He made several other Regulations, in the Emperor's Name, with respect to the Government of *Rome*, and the better Administration of Justice; and then quitting, to the great Joy of the Pope and the *Romans*, the Neighbourhood of the City, he repaired with his Army to *Pavia*, the Residence of the Kings of *Italy*, or the Kings of the *Lombards* &c.

Edi&ct forbid-  
ding the Pope  
to be ordained  
till his Elec-  
tion was con-  
firmed by the  
Emperor.

I find nothing else recorded of *Sergius*, besides his admitting *Siconulph*, Duke of *Benevento*, to kiss his precious Feet, as *Anastasius* expresses it, and his rebuilding, repairing, and embellishing with Pictures and other Ornaments, the Churches of *Rome*, and robbing the Cemeteries to enrich them with Reliques<sup>r</sup>. Indeed this seems to have been the chief, if not the whole, Employment of the Popes at this time. *Sergius* died on the 27th of *January* 847<sup>s</sup>; and consequently, as he was ordained about the 10th of *February* 844. he must have held the See Three Years, wanting some Days. In the latter End of the Pontificate of *Sergius*, the *Saracens*, entering with a numerous Fleet of small Vessels the *Tiber*, landed at *Rome*, burnt the Suburbs, plundered the Churches of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* without the Walls, and retired, unmolested, with an immense Booty, and a great Number of Captives.

*Sergius dies.*  
Year of  
Christ 847.

LOTHARIUS and LEWIS,  
Emperors of the West.

LEO IV.

MICHAEL,  
Emperor of the East.

*The Hundred and Second BISHOP of Rome.*

*SERGIUS* was not yet buried, when *Leo*, the Fourth of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, the Son of *Rodulph*, and Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, was chosen with one Voice in his room, was carried by Force to the *Lateran* Palace, and placed, with the usual

*Leo chosen,  
and ordained,  
before his  
Election was  
confirmed by  
the Emperor.*

<sup>s</sup> Anast. in Serg. II.

<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Annal. Bertin.

Cere-



Year of  
Christ 847.

Ceremonies, and loud Acclamations, on the Pontifical Throne. However, he was not ordained till the 11th of *April*, that is, till Two Months and Fifteen Days after his Election; and the Cause of so long a Delay was, that the new Pope, not daring to suffer himself to be ordained till his Election was confirmed by the Emperor, waited the Arrival of his Deputies to examine and confirm it. But as neither the Deputies arrived, nor did the Messengers return, whom the Pope had sent to acquaint the Emperor with his Promotion, and at the same time the *Saracens* appeared anew on the neighbouring Coast, the *Roman* Senate were of Opinion, that the Imperial Edict might be dispensed with at so critical a Juncture; and *Leo* was accordingly ordained, at their Request and Desire, on the 11th of *April*, which, in 847, fell on *Easter-Monday*. On this Occasion, however, they took care to protest and declare, that, in causing the Pope to be thus ordained, they did not intend, by any means, to derogate from the just Rights of the Imperial Crown, or to decline complying with the Ordinance of *their Leige Lord, whom, next to God, they were bound to obey* <sup>t</sup>.

Enriches the  
Churches of  
St. Peter and  
St. Paul;

The first Care of the new Pope was, to restore to their former Splendor the Churches of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which the *Saracens* had stripped of all their valuable Ornaments; and the Quantity of Gold, of Silver, of precious Stones, he is said by *Anastasius* to have employed for that Purpose, almost exceeds all Belief. A very small Portion of the Wealth he thus wantonly lavished away, would have afforded a comfortable Maintenance to all the Poor of the City.

and under-  
takes the  
Building of  
the Leonine  
City.

*Leo's* next Care was, to secure so great a Treasure against any new Attempts of the *Saracens*; and with that View he resolved to execute the Design, which his Predecessor *Leo III.* had formed, but was prevented by Death from putting it in Execution; *viz.* to build a new City on the *Vatican*, and inclose it, as well as the Church of *St. Peter*, with a Wall, lest so much Wealth should be left exposed to the sacrilegious Avarice of every Corsair. That Resolution he imparted to the Emperor; who not only approved of it, but generously contributed, and prevailed on his Two Brothers, *Charles* King of *Neustria*, and *Louis* King of *Bavaria*, to contribute no less generously than himself, towards carrying on so great and so necessary a Work. The *Roman* Nobility too, applauding the Design, assisted the Pope with large Sums to undertake the Execution of it without

<sup>t</sup> Anast. in Leon. IV.

Delay. *Leo* therefore, being thus encouraged to begin, and enabled to pursue the intended Work, the Materials were got ready, Artificers and Workmen were, with the Promise of extraordinary Wages, enticed from the different Provinces of *Italy* to *Rome*, and the Foundations of the new City were laid in the Month of *September* of the present Year, with the greatest Solemnity. The Pope took upon himself the Office of Overseer, spending all the Time he could spare from his spiritual Functions in reviewing the Works, which he is said to have done every Day, and in all Kinds of Weather, in encouraging the Workmen, and examining what Progress they made in their respective Tasks or Duties <sup>u</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 847.

This great Undertaking the Pope, however, was obliged to interrupt for some time the following Year, being certainly informed that the *Saracens* were equipping a powerful Fleet in the Ports of *Africa*, with a Design to make a Second Attempt upon *Rome*. This Intelligence occasioned a general Consternation; and *Leo*, abandoning for the present the Work he had begun, employed all his Workmen in fortifying the City, and putting it in a Condition to withstand any sudden Attack or Surprise. He repaired the Walls in several Places, gone quite to Decay, rebuilt most of the Towers, erected several new ones, Two especially of great Strength on the opposite Banks of the *Tiber*, with a Chain drawn from the one to the other, to prevent any Vessel from passing; and, to defend the City still more effectually, caused a great many Bodies of Saints, dug up in the Cemeteries without the Walls, to be brought into it with great Pomp and Solemnity.

Fortifies  
Rome.  
Year of  
Christ 849.

In the mean time the *Saracens*, having assembled their Fleet at *Tozar* in *Sardinia*, the Place of their general Rendezvous, set Sail from thence for *Porto*, with a Design to land Part of their Forces there, and convey the rest up the *Tiber* to the very Gates of the City. But the Inhabitants of *Naples*, of *Amalfi*, of *Gaeta*, and the other maritime Places, no sooner heard of their Design, than apprehending their own Fate depended upon that of *Rome*, they assembled in great Haste all their armed Vessels, and putting to Sea, sailed to *Porto*, resolved to guard the Entrance into the River, and to engage the Barbarians, should they offer to enter it, or to land any Forces. Upon their Arrival, they sent some of their chief Officers to let the Pope know that they were come as Friends (for he distrusted the

The Fleet of  
the Saracens  
intirely de-  
stroyed.

<sup>u</sup> Idem ibid.

Year of  
Christ 849.

*Greeks* and the *Beneventan Lombards*, to whom those Cities belonged), and that they were all to a Man ready to venture their Lives in his Defence, and the Defence of the City. Hereupon the Pope, transported with Joy, flew to *Porto*, received there both the Soldiers and Officers with extraordinary Marks of Esteem and Affection, admitted them to kiss his Foot; and, upon expressing a great Desire to receive the Sacrament at his Hands, he went with them in Procession to the Church of St. *Aurea*, and having performed there divine Service with great Solemnity, and administered the Sacrament to them all, he encouraged them to fight manfully, having St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, whose sacred Bodies they defended, to fight with them, gave them his Blessing, and recommending them to the Protection of the Prince of the Apostles, returned to *Rome*. The very next Day, the Fleet of the *Saracens* appeared off *Ostia*; and the Christian Fleet putting thereupon immediately to Sea, an Engagement ensued; but the Two Fleets were soon parted by a violent Wind, that arose unexpectedly, and drove most of the Enemy's Ships on the Shore, where they were dashed to Pieces, and all on board miserably perished. The rest were dispersed, and either swallowed up by the Sea, or shipwrecked against the Rocks and the Islands; and very few had the good Luck to reach the *African* Coast. The *Saracens* were almost all either drowned, starved with Hunger on the abandoned Islands where their Vessels were shipwrecked, or taken Prisoners, and carried in Triumph to *Rome*. There, and all along the Coast, great Numbers of them were hanged, and left on the Gibbets, to strike Terror into their Countrymen, and the rest were put in Chains by the Pope, and employed as Drudges in the most laborious Parts of his new Works<sup>w</sup>. This Victory or Deliverance was, we may be sure, ascribed to the miraculous Interposition of the Saints, especially of the Two Princes of the Apostles. By them the Storm was raised; by them alone the Fleet of the *Saracens* was dispersed and destroyed.

Lewis King  
of Italy,  
crowned Emperor at  
Rome.

Year of  
Christ 850.

While the *Romans* were at the Height of their Rejoicings for so remarkable a Victory, *Lewis* King of *Italy* arrived at *Rome*, sent thither by his Father, who had lately taken him for his Colleague in the Empire, to be crowned Emperor by the Pope. *Leo* received him with all the Marks of Distinction due to his Character, and crowned him, with the usual Ceremonies, on the 2d of *December*

<sup>w</sup> Idem ibid.

of

## Leo IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

241

of the present Year. As *Leo* had been ordained before his Election was confirmed by the Emperor, the *Romans* were under no small Apprehensions of the King's resenting it, as he had resented but a few Years before their suffering *Sergius* to be thus ordained. But *Lewis* was intirely satisfied with the Reasons they alleged, and their having protested on that Occasion that they did, by no means, intend to withdraw themselves from the Obedience they owed to their Leige Lord and Sovereign.

Year of  
Christ 850.

*Leo*, in the mean time, pursued with incredible Ardor the great Work he had begun in the Second Year of his Pontificate; and he had in the Sixth the Satisfaction of completing it, and seeing the Basilic of the Prince of the Apostles, that had hitherto stood by itself, defended only by the Reverence that was due to so sacred a Place, standing now in the Midst of a City, and defended, where that Reverence should be wanting, by a strong Wall. The new City was, from the Name of its Founder, called the '*Leonine City*'; and the Pope consecrated it with great Solemnity on the 27th of *June*. He walked on that Occasion in Procession with several Bishops, and all the *Roman* Clergy, round the new Wall bare-foot, sprinkled it with holy Water, and stopping at the Three Gates, said at each of them a different Prayer; begging the Almighty, by the Merits of his holy Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* (not of Christ) to pour down his Blessings on the City which he had built, and, from his own Name, called the '*Leonine City*'; to grant it new Triumphs over those against whom it was built; and to preserve it from ever falling into the Hands of its cruel and merciless Enemies. When the Procession was ended, the Pope performed divine Service in the Church of *St. Peter*; at which assisted the whole *Roman* Clergy in a Body, the Senate, all the Nobility, and a great many Strangers of Distinction, come from all Parts to see the new City, and be present at the Ceremony of its Consecration. After divine Service, the Pope, whose Treasure was not, it seems, to be exhausted, ordered considerable Sums to be distributed among the People, and Presents to be sent to all Persons of Distinction, both *Roman* and foreign, then in *Rome*. Such is the Account *Anastasius* gives us of the building and consecrating of the '*Leonine City*'; and he was an Eye-witness of what he relates \*.

The Leonine  
City conse-  
crated.

Year of  
Christ 852.

\* Idem ibid.

Council as-  
sembled at  
Rome.

Year of  
Christ 853.

*Leo*, being now at Leisure to attend to Ecclesiastical Affairs, and discharge the Duties of his Episcopal Office, undertook, with great Zeal, to reform the Manners of the Clergy, and redress the many Abuses that prevailed among them as well as the Monks. With that View he assembled, in the Month of *December* 853, a Council at *Rome*, consisting of Sixty-seven Bishops. By them some new Canons were issued, and the Observance of others, that had been formerly made, enforced, on Pain of Deposition, Excommunication, &c. all calculated to restore the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and banish the many Abuses that had insensibly crept into the Church. The Council took particular Care, as most other Councils had done, tho' to very little Purpose, to prevent the Bishops and Clerks from frequenting the Company of Women, from admitting them into their Houses, or conversing familiarly with them. By the same Council Divorces were forbidden in all Cases, but in that of Adultery; and married Persons restrained from embracing a monastic Life, without the Consent of the Bishop; who was charged to inquire, with great Care, whether both truly agreed to it, and if they did not, to deny his Consent.

Anastafius  
deposed by the  
Pope and the  
Council.

The Pope and the Bishops of the Assembly deposed, before they parted, and deposed with one Consent, *Anastafius*, Cardinal Prefbyter of the Church of *St. Marcellus* in *Rome*. He had been Five Years absent; and tho' commanded by the Pope to return, and even excommunicated for paying no kind of Regard to his repeated Commands, he still continued to live, unconcerned, in the Diocese of *Aquilea*, pretending, that the Pope had there no sort of Power or Authority over him. He was therefore solemnly deposed; and the Sentence, declaring him divested of all Sacerdotal and Ecclesiastical Dignity, was signed by the Pope, and all the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, who were present. It is observable, that this Council is said to have been held *in the Seventh Year of the Pontificate of the most holy and universal Pope Leo IVth*; and this is the First Instance we meet with of any public Deeds marked with the Years of the Popes, or of their Pontificate.

Alfred sent by  
his Father to  
be educated at  
Rome.

The same Year came to *Rome* the famous *Alfred*, sent by his Father *Ethelwulf*, King of the *West-Saxons*, to be educated there under the Care and Direction of the Pope, being then scarce Four Years old; for he was born in 849. *Afferius*, who lived with him,

y Idem ibid.

and

and wrote his Life, tells us, that *Leo* confirmed him; that he adopted him for his Son; and anointed him King<sup>z</sup>; but of what Kingdom, neither that Writer, nor any other, has informed us. As for the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, it was then held by his Father; and he had Three other Sons, who were all older than *Alfred*, and came to the Crown before him.

Year of  
Christ 854.

As the *Saracens* continued, notwithstanding their late Disaster, to infest the Coast, the Pope fortified, at a great Expence, the City of *Porto*, planted there a Colony of *Corficans*, and not only yielded to them for ever that City, and its Territory, upon their swearing Allegiance to him and his Successors, but generously supplied them with Horses, with Oxen, with Tools of Agriculture, and Arms to repulse the *Saracens*, should they offer to attack them. He likewise rebuilt the Walls of *Hortana* and *Amerina*, quite gone to Ruin, and of many other Cities on the Coast, left altogether defenceless to the Mercy of the Enemy. The Inhabitants of *Centumcellæ* had abandoned their City, chusing rather to wander like wild Beasts in the Woods, than to live in constant Fear of being either massacred by the *Saracens*, or carried by them into Captivity, with their Wives and their Children. The Pope was affected with the Miseries they suffered; and he determined, notwithstanding the immense Sums he had already expended, to build them a new City. He went accordingly in Person to look out for a convenient Place to build it on; but, tho' he viewed, and narrowly examined, every Spot in that Part of the Country, he could find none that he intirely approved of. But Heaven interposed; and a most convenient Situation for the intended City was pointed out to him in a Dream, nay, and the Plan shewn him, which he was to conform to in building it. The Plan he copied in his Sleep, found it, when he awaked, in his Hand, and had, in a very short Time, the Satisfaction of seeing a new City raised in the Place, and in every Part answering the Plan that Heaven had shewn him<sup>a</sup>. Thus *Anastasius*; and he probably learnt the Story he relates from the Pope himself, who might not scruple to use that *pious* Invention or *Fraud* to get his Design the more readily approved, and the more speedily executed: For who would not approve, who would not, with the greatest Ardor and Eagerness, concur in the Execution of a Plan or Design sent down from Heaven? The Pope consecrated the new City with the very same Ceremonies, Pomp,

Colony of  
Corficans  
settled at  
Porto.

Year of  
Christ 854.

And the City  
of Centum-  
cellæ rebuilt.

<sup>a</sup> Vit. Alfred.

<sup>b</sup> Anast. ibid.

Year of  
Christ 854.

and Solemnity he had used in consecrating the *Leonine City*; and, from his own Name, called it *Leopolis*, the same Name in *Greek* that he gave to the other in *Latin*. I leave *Anastasius* to reconcile his thus transmitting his Name to Posterity with the utter Contempt he is said by that Writer to have entertained of all human Glory. In Process of Time, the Inhabitants of the new City, disliking its Situation, and either forgetting, or not believing it had been pointed out by Heaven, abandoned it, and returned to *Centumcellæ*, which they called *Civita Vecchia*, that is, the ancient City; and so it is called to this Day<sup>b</sup>.

The Emperor  
comes to  
Rome.

*Leo* had scarce finished his new City, when News was brought him, to his great Surprise, of the Arrival of the Emperor *Lewis* in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. As he came quite unexpected, at the Head of a numerous Army, and no one knew with what Design, his Arrival threw the whole City into the utmost Consternation. He was, however, met and attended, according to Custom, by the *Roman* Magistrates, the Clergy and Nobility, to the *Vatican*, and there received, with the usual Marks of Distinction, by the Pope. It does not appear that he entered the Church on this Occasion, or visited the Tomb of *St. Peter*. He only acquainted the Pope with the Motive of his Journey, which, he said, was to punish the Author of a Plot, that was privately carried on against him and the *French* Nation in general. The Pope, not in the least daunted, as being conscious of his own Innocence, begged he would name the Person, and appoint a Day for his Tryal, since no Man could be lawfully punished till he was heard, and convicted of the Crimes laid to his Charge. The Emperor named *Gratian*, Commander of the *Roman* Militia, One of the Pope's Counsellors, and a Man of the First Rank and Distinction in *Rome*; and charged him with having, in a private Conversation, solicited *Daniel*, another Commander of the Militia, to join him in driving out the *French*, and calling in their old Friends the *Greeks* in their room. This Charge *Daniel*, said the Emperor, is ready to make good: A Day was therefore appointed for the Tryal; and *Gratian* was accordingly tried in the Presence of the Pope, of the Emperor, of the *Roman* Senate, and all the *French* Nobility who attended the Emperor. Before that Assembly *Daniel* renewed the Accusation with great Assurance; but *Gratian*, in the Course of the Tryal, made his Innocence so

*Gratian*,  
Commander  
of the *Roman*  
Militia,  
tried, and  
acquitted.

<sup>a</sup> Bruzen. Martin, Dict. Geograph. et Crit.

plainly

plainly appear, and convicted the Informer of such palpable Contradictions, that he was obliged in the End to own, that the Whole was a Calumny, intirely owing to Malice and Envy. Hereupon *Gratian* was cleared, and *Daniel* delivered up to him, agreeably to the *Roman* Law, that still obtained in *Rome*, to be disposed of by him at his Pleasure. The Emperor, however, begged, that his Life might be spared; and *Gratian* accordingly spared it <sup>c</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 855.

The Emperor left *Rome* as soon as the Tryal was over, intirely satisfied of the Loyalty of *Gratian*, and the *Romans* in general; and the Pope died soon after his Departure, that is, according to the most correct Copies of *Anastasius*, and the other Chronologists, on the 17th of *July* 855, having presided in the *Roman* Church Eight Years, Three Months, and Six Days <sup>d</sup>. In this Pope centered, if *Anastasius* is to be credited, all moral and Christian Virtues, without the Allay of one single Vice or Defect; and it is not to be doubted but the Place he now holds amongst Saints in the Calendar, was owing to the high Commendations that Writer bestows on him, and the Miracles he is by him said to have wrought. Amongst these, the following was alone sufficient to convince the World of his extraordinary Sanctity: A Basilisk of an immense Size haunted a Cave in the Neighbourhood of the Church of St. *Lucia* in *Orphea*, and, with its venomous Breath, killed all who approached the Mouth of the Cave. Thus was that Part of the City soon turned into a Desert, all flying from thence to avoid the Contagion. But *Leo*, pitying their Condition, undertook, as soon as he was ordained, to deliver them from so troublesome a Neighbour. In order to that, he went in Procession, after a general Fast, with all his Clergy, to the Church of St. *Mary ad Præseppe*, and from thence to the Cave, causing an Image of the Virgin *Mary* to be carried before him. As he approached the fatal Place, he ordered the Clergy and People to stop, and boldly advancing alone to the very Mouth of the Cavern, pronounced some Prayers there, returned unhurt; and the Basilisk was never more heard of <sup>e</sup>. Against this Miracle might be objected the Authority of *Pliny*, telling us, that the Basilisk is no-where to be met with, but in the Province of *Cyrenaica* in *Africa* <sup>f</sup>. But that Objection *Baronius* has answered, by letting us know, that when

Leo dies, and  
is fainted.  
Year of  
Christ 855.

Miracle  
wrought by  
him.

<sup>c</sup> Anast. in Leo. IV. &c.

<sup>e</sup> Anast. ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Anast. Herman. Contract. Orderii, Vital. Martin. Pelon.

<sup>f</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 21.



Year of  
Christ 855.

The Dispute  
about Grace  
and free Will  
first moved in  
Leo's Time.

God wants to punish the Sins of Men, every Country produces every noxious Creature f.

In *Leo's* Time was first moved by a Monk named *Gothescalque*, the famous Dispute about Grace, Predestination, and free Will, that divided the whole *Gallican* Church into Two opposite Parties, and was long carried on, with great Warmth, by the most eminent Men of that Church. But as the Pope never interfered in the Controversy, nor did any of either Party ever think of appealing to him, or asking his Opinion (an irrefragable Proof that they did not look upon him as an unerring Judge in religious Disputes), I shall refer the Reader, for an Account of that Dispute, to the contemporary Writers, especially to *Rabanus* of *Mentz*, to *Hincmar* of *Reims*, and *Amolo* of *Lions*, who were the chief Actors in it, and distinguished themselves, above the rest, by their Erudition and Learning.

Leo's Ho-  
mily.

*Leo* wrote an Homily, calculated to instruct the Clergy in the Duties of their Office; and ordered it to be read by the Bishops in the Assemblies of the Clergy of their respective Dioceses. It has reached our Times, and is to be found in the Collection of the Councils g.

## Pope J O A N.

The Adven-  
tures of Pope  
Joan, as re-  
lated by sever-  
al Writers.

AFTER *Leo* IV. and before *Benedict* III. is commonly placed the famous Pope *Joan*, by those who believe that such a Pope ever existed. But before I inquire whether such a Pope ever existed, or not, the Reader will expect some Account of the Birth, of the Education, of the various Adventures, of so extraordinary a Woman, before, as well as after, she attained to the Pontifical Dignity, as it has been delivered down to us by the Writers, who speak of her as a real, and not as a fabulous Person. She was, according to most of those Writers, the Daughter of an *English* Missionary; who, leaving his own Country, went over to *Germany*, with great Numbers of his Countrymen, to instruct the *Saxons*, whom *Charlemagne* had converted with his victorious Army to the Christian Religion. The Missionary carried over his Wife with him, which obliged him; as she was big with Child, to stop at *Ingelheim*; and there she was delivered of a Daughter, whom some call *Joan*, and others *Agnes*,

f Bar. ad ann. 847. p. 52. g Concil. l. viii. p. 33.

*Gerbert*,

*Gerbert, Isabel, Marguerite, Dorothy, and Just.* As *Joan* (so I shall call her, as she is most commonly known by that Name) shewed from her Infancy a strong Inclination to the Study of Letters, and her Father, who was a Man of great Learning, indulging that Inclination, took upon him to instruct her, she made under him such astonishing Progress in the different Branches of Literature, that she was looked upon by all as a Prodigy. Her Passion for Learning did not render her insensible to a Passion of a different Nature. As she was no less famous for her Beauty and Address than for her Genius and her Learning, a young Monk, of the Monastery of *Fuld* in *Germany*, fell violently in Love with her; and his Flame kindling one no less violent in her Breast, it was agreed between them, that, to enjoy more freely the Company of each other, she should privately withdraw from her Father's House, should disguise her Sex, and, in that Disguise, apply to the Abbot to be admitted into the same Monastery. She was then only Twelve Years old; but her Passion inspiring her with a Resolution superior to her Age as well as to her Sex, she forsook her Parents unaffected, and dissembling her Sex, presented herself to the Abbot, and so imposed upon him by an assumed Modesty, and a pretended Desire of consecrating herself from her tender Years to God, and avoiding the Temptations of the World, that might, in Confederacy with her Passions when they grew stronger, rob her of her Innocence, that he embraced her with great Joy, and received her, as a most promising Youth, amongst his Monks. And now the Two Lovers had, to their inexpressible Satisfaction, Opportunities every Day of seeing one another, of conversing familiarly together, and expressing to each other the Violence of their Passion, undisturbed and unsuspected. However, they are said to have kept, notwithstanding the Violence of their Passion, within Bounds in indulging it; but within what Bounds we are not told; and to keep any Bounds in indulging a violent Passion, is a Task to which few, if any at all, are equal. The Lovers did not long continue in that happy State; but eloping together, for what Reasons we are not informed, from the Monastery, they came privately over to *England*, the young Monk being a Native of this Country. Here they pursued their Studies together with uncommon Application. From hence they went to *France*, from *France* to *Italy*, and from *Italy* to *Greece*; stopping where-ever they found Masters or Professors capable of improving them in the Knowledge they had already acquired.

In *Greece* they chose *Athens* for the Place of their Abode, to perfect themselves there in the Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue. They had not been long at *Athens*, when the Monk was taken ill, and died in a few Days, in spite of all the Care that could possibly be used to save his Life. How deeply the surviving Lover was affected with so fatal a Blow, no Words can express. Not able to bear the Sight of any Thing or Place she had ever seen with him, she resolved; in the same Disguise, to repair to *Rome*; not to visit the holy Places there, but to divert her Mind from dwelling too intensely upon the irreparable Loss she had sustained, and alleviate her Grief with the Sight of so many great Objects as would offer themselves there to her View. She had no Occasion to repent of that Resolution: Her extraordinary Talents made her soon known in that great Metropolis; and her Modesty, her Address, her engaging Behaviour, gained her the Esteem as well as the Affection of all who knew her. To display her Talents, she opened a School; and had the Satisfaction of seeing it frequented by Persons of the first Rank and Distinction, by the most learned Men at that time in *Rome*; nay, and by the public Professors themselves, not ashamed, nor thinking it any sort of Disparagement for them to become her Disciples. Thus she continued gaining daily new Reputation and Credit, not by her Knowledge and Learning alone, but by a Conduct, in Appearance, quite blameless, and an outward Shew of extraordinary Sanctity, being ever the foremost in all public Exercises of Piety and Devotion.

*Is chosen  
Pope.*

In the mean time died Pope *Leo IV.* and tho' Men of extraordinary Merit were not then wanting in *Rome*, yet was a Woman preferred to them all, and, as of all the best qualified for so high a Station, raised with one Voice by the People and Clergy to the Pontifical Throne. Thus did the World behold a Woman sitting in the Chair of St. *Peter*, and the Keys, with the Power of loosening and binding, fallen to the Distaff. How long she was suffered thus to impose on the Christian World, is not agreed amongst Authors; but in this all agree, that neither the People nor the Clergy had Occasion, till she was discovered, to repent of their Choice; for she was discovered in the End, and the Discovery of her Sex was owing to the same Passion that first prompted her to disguise it. Had she been as chaste as many other Women, who are said to have disguised their Sex before her Time, as well as after it, she might have continued undiscovered, as well as they, to the Hour of her Death; but

but Chastity was a Virtue that she had been an utter Stranger to ever since her Infancy, and Opportunities now offering daily to gratify an Inclination that she never had the Resolution to withstand, she yielded to it at all Adventures, discovered herself to One of her Domesticks, on whose Secrecy she knew she could rely, and disclosing to him all her Secrets, took him in the room of her former Lover. He was true to his Trust; and to none was their Intimacy known till the Consequences, naturally attending it, betrayed it to the World. Her Holiness proved with Child; and we are told, that having presumed, in that Condition, to exorcise a Demoniac, and command the Devil to tell her when he was to quit the Body he possessed, the evil Spirit answered, *Tell me first, you who are Pope, and the Father of Fathers, when a she Pope is to be brought to-bed, and I will then tell you when I am to quit the Body I possess* (A). That Answer was understood by those who heard it as importing no more, than that the Devil never would depart from that Body; and no Notice was therefore taken of it.

In the mean time her Holiness advanced in her Pregnancy; but not thinking herself so near her Time as she really was, she unluckily ventured to assist at a Procession, the annual Procession of the Rogation-Week. In that Week, the Week preceding *Whitsuntide*, extraordinary Devotions were performed to preserve the Fruits of the Earth yet tender and liable to be blasted; and the Pope walked, in solemn Procession, with all the Clergy, from the *Vatican* Basilic to the *Lateran*. She might have excused herself; and a Woman of her Art and Address could not be at a Loss to find Pretences to excuse herself from attending so long and so fatiguing a Ceremony: But she chose to attend it, not apprehending that she was so near her Time, say some Writers; while others gravely tell us, that, touched with Remorse, she sincerely repented of her Wickedness; and that an Angel being thereupon sent from Heaven to offer her the Alternative, to be either eternally damned in the other World, or endure in this the Confusion that was due to her Sins, she chose of the Two Evils the least. However that be, she set out in Procession from the *Vatican*, attended, according to Custom, by the Clergy in a Body, by the Senate, and immense Crowds of People, and walked with great Ease till she came to the Street between the Church of *St. Clement*

(A) *Papa Pater Patrum Papissæ pandito partum;  
Et tibi tunc edam de corpore quando recedam.*

*Is delivered  
of a Son in  
the public  
Street.*

and the Amphitheatre. There she was suddenly seized with the Pains incident to Women in her Condition; fell, overcome by the Violence of those Pains, to the Ground; and while all about her were striving to help her up, and afford her some Relief, not knowing what had befallen her, she was, in the public Street, and in the Presence of the whole Multitude, delivered of a Son, or, as a Monkish Poet expresses it, of a little Pope (B). Some say, that both the Mother and the Child died on the Spot; and others, that the Child died; but that the Mother was preserved by a kind of Miracle, to atone, as she did in a Dungeon, for her Wickedness (C). They add, that, to perpetuate the Memory of such an extraordinary Adventure, a little Chapel was built, and a Statue erected, in the Place where it happened, both to the Mother and the Child; and that, in Detestation of the Fact, the Popes and the *Roman* Clergy have ever since, in their Processions from the *Vatican* to the *Lateran*, turned off from that Street, chusing rather to go a good Way about than to pass through so infamous a Place. Not satisfied with thus shewing their Detestation and Abhorrence of such a scandalous Imposition, to prevent their being thus imposed upon for the future, they introduced the immodest Custom of placing the new Pope on a perforated Stool, before he was ordained, and obliging the youngest Deacon to satisfy himself and them, that the Person, whom they had chosen, was not a Woman; *Mas est*, cried the Deacon; and the Clergy answered, *Deo gratias*.

*Her Adventures unknown to  
Marianus.*

Such is the Account they give us of the Birth, Education, Adventures, and unhappy End of the celebrated Pope *Joan*. But it is to be observed, that of none of the various Circumstances and Incidents, with which they have embellished her Story, has the least Notice been taken by *Marianus Scotus*, who flourished 200 Years after her Time, and is supposed to have been the first that mentioned her. All he said of her, if he said so much, was, that *to Leo IV. succeeded Joan, a Woman, who held the See Two Years, Five Months, and Four Days*. Whatever else we read of her, has been added by Writers who lived, some One, some Two, some Three, and some Four hun-

(B) *Papa Pater Patrum peperit Papissa Papellum.*

(C) She is nevertheless represented by *Mantuanus* hanging, with her Lover, at the Entry into Hell:

*Hic pendebat adhuc, sexum mentita virilem  
Fœmina, cui triplici Phrygiæ diademate mitram  
Suspendebat apex; et Pontificalis adulter, says that Poet.*

dred

dred Years after *Marianus*, and may consequently be looked upon as fabulous. However, as a Fact, true in itself, may be, and often is, related with such Circumstances as render it incredible, I shall examine here the Fact in question, abstracting from the Circumstances with which later Writes have embellished it, and only inquire, whether *Leo IV. was succeeded by JOAN a Woman?*

And, in the First place, I cannot at all agree with *Panvinus*, that God never would have suffered *the See of St. Peter, founded by Christ himself, to be sacrilegiously profaned by a Woman*<sup>h</sup>; since he himself is forced to allow, and so is *Baronius*, the See of St. Peter, though founded, according to them, by Christ himself, to have been sacrilegiously profaned by the *most wicked of Men*, by Monsters of Iniquity, by the Lovers, the Bullies, the Bastards of public Prostitutes, Prostitutes governing *Rome* with an absolute Sway, and raising their chief Favourites to the *See of St. Peter*. Neither can I agree with those, who think it impossible that a Woman should have disguised her Sex so artfully, as to be raised, quite unsuspected, to the Pontifical Dignity: For Instances are not wanting of Women, who have disguised their Sex no less successfully than *Joan* is said to have done, and have lived, quite unsuspected, till Death discovered them, or they discovered themselves. Thus did *Eugenia*, Daughter to *Philip* Governor of *Alexandria* under the Emperor *Gallienus*, disguise herself so as to be admitted into a Monastery of Monks, nay, and to be made Abbot; and she would have continued undiscovered to the Hour of her Death, had she not discovered herself to save her Reputation, being impeached of an Intrigue with a Woman of ill Fame, to the great Scandal of all the Monks. The Fact is related by *Alcimus Avitus*, who was Archbishop of *Vienne* in the Sixth Century, in his Poem upon *Virginity*<sup>i</sup>. In like manner *Theodora* of *Alexandria*, having committed a Fault in her Youth, resolved to conceal the Sex she had disgraced, and atone for it in a Monastery. She was accordingly admitted by the Abbot in the Disguise of a Man, and, thus disguised, acted her Part so well, that One of her own Sex conceived a violent Passion for her; and being slighted by her, to revenge that Slight, gave herself up to one capable of gratifying her vicious Inclination, and laid to *Theodora* the Child she had by him. *Theodora* might have easily confuted the Calumny; but she chose rather to be thought guilty, to be driven, with Disgrace, out of the Monastery,

<sup>h</sup> Onuph. Panvin. ad Platin. in Johan. VIII.      <sup>i</sup> Alcim. Avit. Pœmat. l. vi.

may, and to bring up the Child as her own, than to pull off the Mask. *Nicephorus Calistus* <sup>k</sup>, and the Author of the *Golden Legend*, to whom we are indebted for this Account, add, that *Theodora* was re-admitted, after some Years of Penance, into the Monastery; that she led there, quite unsuspected, a penitent and exemplary Life; and that the Secret was not discovered till after her Death.

*A Woman  
said to have  
been raised to  
the See of  
Constanti-  
nople.*

Many other Instances occur in History of Women, who have disguised themselves no less successfully than Pope *Joan* is supposed to have done; nay, it was even said, and commonly believed, if Pope *Leo IX.* is to be credited, that a Woman had introduced herself into the Patriarchal See of *Constantinople*. That Report, indeed, the Pope did not believe; but yet thought that such a thing might possibly have happened: And, in a Letter he wrote to *Michael* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, he expresses himself thus; “Far be it from  
“us to believe what is confidently reported to have happened to the  
“Church of *Constantinople*; viz. that by promoting, as she does,  
“so many Eunuchs to the Patriarchal See, contrary to the First Canon of the Council of *Nice*, she had once placed a Woman on  
“that See. The Enormity of the Fact, joined to our fraternal Benevolence, does not allow us to credit that Report; but yet, when  
“we reflect on the little Regard you pay to the Canons, and the Custom, that obtains in your Church, of admitting Eunuchs not only  
“to holy Orders, but even to the Patriarchal Dignity, we cannot  
“help thinking, that such a thing might possibly have happened!” Now, if it was not thought by *Leo* absurd or incredible, that God should have suffered the See of *Constantinople*, tho’ founded, as is pretended, by the Apostle St. *Andrew*, to be profaned by a Woman, why should it be thought absurd or incredible that God should have suffered the See of *Rome*, tho’ founded, as is pretended, by the Apostle St. *Peter*, to be profaned by a Woman? If *Leo* did not think it impossible for a Woman to disguise her Sex so artfully as to be raised, quite unsuspected, to the See of *Constantinople*; why should we think it impossible for a Woman to disguise her Sex so artfully as to be raised, quite unsuspected, to the See of *Rome*? The Custom that prevailed at this time amongst the Western, especially the *Italian*, Clergy, of shaving their Beards, contributed as much as the Condition of an Eunuch towards carrying on the Impostition with Success; nay, to that Custom *Calcondilas* ascribes the

<sup>k</sup> Niceph. Calist. Hist. Eccles. l. xvi. c. 5.    <sup>l</sup> Leo. IX. ep. 1.

*raising of a Woman to the Apostolic See* <sup>m</sup>. And *Pierius Valerianus*, in an Harangue he address'd to Cardinal *Hippolitus de Medicis*, tells that Cardinal, that had the Western Clergy never adopted the effeminate Custom of shaving their Beards, the World would never have seen a Woman sitting in the Chair of St. *Peter* <sup>n</sup>.

That a Woman therefore should have been rais'd, in the Dis- <sup>Pope Joan</sup>  
guise of a Man, to the See of St. *Peter*, is a thing neither <sup>never exist'd</sup>  
absolutely impossible in itself, nor incredible: But yet, that such a  
thing never did happen, that no Woman ever did sit in that See,  
and consequently that the famous Pope *Joan* is a mere Chimera or  
Fantome, has been made so evidently appear by several Protestant as  
well as *Roman Catholic* Writers, that I can scarce help charging those  
with want of Candor, who still maintain so stale and so groundless  
a Fable. In Matters of Fact, we are to stand to the Testimony of the  
contemporary Writers, if worthy of Credit, or of those who lived  
the nearest to the Times of which they write; and admit or reject  
what we read in the later Writers, as it is consistent or inconsistent  
with what we read in them. Now, what we read in *Anastasius*,  
who lived at this very time in *Rome*, concerning the Death of Pope  
*Leo IV.* and the Election of his Successor, at which he was probably  
present, is absolutely inconsistent with what we read in the Writers  
who flourish'd some Ages after his Time; *viz.* that *Leo IV.* was  
succeeded by a Woman; for the *Bibliothecarian* tells us in express  
Terms, that the People of *Rome*, the Clergy and Nobility, meet-  
ing *as soon as* *Leo* died (*mox*), to chuse him a Successor, all agreed  
to a Man to confer that Honour on *Benedict*; that they went there-  
upon *immediately* in a Body to the Church of St. *Callistus*; and,  
having found him there at his Prayers, they carried him from thence  
to the *Lateran* Palace, placed him on the Pontifical Throne, and sign-  
ing the Decree of his Election, sent it to the Emperors *Lotharius* and  
*Lewis* <sup>o</sup>. *Leo* therefore was, according to *Anastasius* an Eye-wit-  
ness of what he writes, immediately succeeded by *Benedict*, and not  
by a Woman.

The Account of *Anastasius* is intirely agreeable to what we read <sup>The female</sup>  
in *Hincmar*, at this very time Archbishop of *Reims*, who writes <sup>Pope un-</sup>  
thus in One of his Letters to Pope *Nicholas*, the immediate Succes- <sup>known to the</sup>  
sor of *Benedict III.* *I dispatched*, says he, *Envoys*, with Letters to <sup>contemporary</sup>  
<sup>Latin Wri-</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Calcond. Hist. Turc. l. vi. p. 200. <sup>n</sup> Johan. Pier. Valer. pro Sacerdot. barb.  
ad Card. Med. <sup>o</sup> Anast. in Benedict. III.



Rome, who, hearing on the Road that Leo was dead, pursued, nevertheless, their Journey, and arriving at Rome, obtained of Benedict the Privilege which they were sent to demand <sup>p</sup>. While the Envoys were on the Road, Leo died, and Benedict was chosen, as appears from the Words of the Letter: We cannot therefore suppose any other to have been chosen between them, and to have held the See Two Years and Five Months, as the female Pope is said to have done, without supposing the Envoys to have been Two Years and Five Months on the Road from *Reims* to *Rome*; which no Man can suppose, or believe. The other contemporary Writers were all as little acquainted with the female Pope as *Anastasius* and *Hincmar*. Thus Pope *Nicholas*, the immediate Successor of *Benedict*, in a Letter he wrote to the Bishops of the Council of *Soissons*, Eleven Years after the Death of *Leo*, speaks of *Benedict* as the immediate Successor of that Pope: *Leo, Pontiff of the Apostolic See, says he, being dead, and Benedict, of holy Memory, chosen to succeed him, under him the Reverend Hincmar renews the War* <sup>q</sup>. In like manner *Ado*, Archbishop of *Vienne*, who flourished at this very time, and died in 875, enumerating, in his Chronicle, the Popes from *Gregory IV.* to *Nicholas I.* places *Benedict III.* immediately after *Leo IV.* *The Roman Pontiff Gregory dies, says Ado, and in his room Sergius is ordained; to Sergius succeeds Leo; and to Leo is substituted Benedict.* The *Bertinian* Annalist, who flourished at the same time, and brought his Annals down to the Year 882, writes thus at the Year 855, *Leo, Bishop of the Apostolic See, dies; to him succeeds Benedict; to Benedict Nicholas; to Nicholas Hadrian; and to Hadrian John* <sup>r</sup>,

And likewise  
to the Greek  
Writers.

The *Greek* Writers of the Ninth Century knew, it seems, as little of a female Pope as the *Latin*; for the famous *Phocius* of *Constantinople*, and *Metrophanes* of *Smyrna*, not only take no kind of Notice of her, tho' both sworn Enemies of the See of *Rome*, but expressly exclude her, placing *Benedict* immediately after *Leo*, *Nicholas* after *Benedict*, *Hadrian* after *Nicholas*, and *John* after *Hadrian* <sup>s</sup>; and both Writers were contemporary with these Popes. The Writers I have quoted all lived, and wrote, at the very time when the female Pope is supposed to have been chosen, to have governed the

<sup>p</sup> Hincmar. ep. 26. tom. ii. Edit. Sirmond. p. 298. <sup>q</sup> Nich. ep. 46. <sup>r</sup> Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 855. <sup>s</sup> Phot. de Process. Spirit. Sanct. l. i. Metrophanes, de Spirit. Sanct. divinitat.

Church Two Years and Five Months, and to have at last been discovered in the manner we have seen; and yet not One of them takes the least Notice of such an extraordinary Event; not One of them mentions the she Pope, but, on the contrary, all absolutely exclude her, by making *Benedict* the immediate Successor of *Leo*, and thus leaving no room for any other. Should therefore the Writers, who lived and wrote ever so little a Time after them, all to a Man relate such an Adventure; should they all perfectly agree in every Circumstance attending it; their Evidence, nevertheless, ought not to be regarded as contradicting the Testimony of those, whom we must suppose to have been better informed than they. But even the earliest Writers, upon whom the Account of a female Pope has been fathered, lived Two hundred Years after the Writers I have quoted; and scarce Two of them agree in the Account they give of her; And are we to believe, upon the Testimony of such Writers, so remarkable an Event, tho' utterly unknown to all the contemporary Historians, nay, and inconsistent with what they have writ? Who could inform them of what passed in former Times, if the Writers did not inform them who lived in those Times, or, at least, nearer them than they?

I am well apprised, that, in some Manuscript Copies of *Anastasius*, An Account of the female Pope foisted into some Copies of Anastasius. an Account is given of a Woman Pope between *Leo IV.* and *Benedict III.* But as that Account is not to be found in the more ancient and authentic Copies of that Writer, if we may depend upon the Testimony of many learned Critics, Protestants as well as *Roman Catholics*, who have narrowly examined them<sup>t</sup>, and it evidently contradicts the Account given by *Anastasius* himself, and all the contemporary Writers, of the Election of *Benedict*, it is now, almost universally, looked upon as supposititious, as not given by *Anastasius*, but inserted, in later Times, into his Work by some injudicious and ignorant Transcriber, unwilling that such an extraordinary Adventure, whether true or false, should be wanting in his Copy. And truly that the Relation of this Tale was added by some other Hand to the Manuscript Copies of *Anastasius*, appears, I think, undeniable from the Manner in which the Relater expresses himself; viz. *it is said that Leo was succeeded by a Woman*: For can any Man think

<sup>t</sup> Onuph. in addit. ad Platin. Blondel. Eclairciss. de la quest. Si une femme, &c. Serrau. ep. 138. 146. Florimond de Remond. l. i. Antipapeſſe. Bale, art. Papeſſe. Note A.

that *Anastasius*, who lived in *Rome* at that very time, who was an Eye-witness of what he wrote, and consequently must have known for certain whether or no *Leo* was succeeded by a Woman, would have spoken of such an extraordinary Event as a Fact that was *said* to have happened, and not positively asserted, or positively denied it? Would any Historian, who in our Days should write the History of *Great Britain*, express himself thus in speaking of the Succession of our Kings, *it is said that George I. was succeeded by George II.*? This is One of the many Reasons that inclined Mr. *Sarrau*, a zealous Protestant, and very able Writer, to conclude the above-mentioned Passage to have been added to the Manuscript Copies of *Anastasius* by one *who made an ill Use of his leisure Hours*<sup>u</sup>; and this Reason the penetrating Mr. *Bayle* looked upon as a Demonstration<sup>w</sup>. As for the Writers who flourished in the same Century with *Anastasius*, or in the following, it is not even pretended, that by any of them mention has been made of a female Pope; and therefore it matters little whether she was first mentioned by *Marianus Scotus* in the End of the Eleventh Century, by *Sigebert* in the Beginning of the Twelfth, or by *Martinus Polonus* about the Middle of the Thirteenth; for the same Question or Difficulty still occurs, how came they to know what was utterly unknown to, or, at least, passed over in Silence by, all who wrote before them?

By whom this  
Fable in-  
vented.

Who was the Inventor of this Fable, or by whom it was first related, is uncertain, it being by some charged upon *Marianus Scotus*; by some upon *Sigebert*, and by some upon *Vincentius Bellovacensis*, or *Martinus Polonus*; while others pretend no mention to be made of the female Pope in the more ancient Manuscript Copies of these Writers. But whoever was the First Author of that Tale, it was, in Process of Time, embellished with many Circumstances or curious Anecdotes unknown to those who had first related it. In the Copies of *Marianus*, where mention is made of Pope *Joan*, no more is said than that *Joan, a Woman, succeeded Pope Leo IV. during the Space of Two Years, Five Months, and Four Days*; but by those who wrote after him we are told, as has been observed above, that she Pope was delivered of a Son in the public Street between the Church of *St. Clement* and the *Coliseo*, or the Amphitheatre of *Titus*; that thenceforth the solemn Processions have ever avoided the same Street;

<sup>u</sup> Sarrauius, epist. 138.    <sup>w</sup> Bayle Dict. Histor. Papeſſe Jeanne.

that

that a Marble Statue was erected there in Detestation of such an Event <sup>x</sup>; and that the *perforated Chair* was, from that time forward, made use of, to prevent the like Mistake in the Election of the Pope <sup>y</sup>. But it does not appear, that the solemn Processions ever passed through that Street; and, if they did, it was for other Reasons, perhaps because it was too narrow, that they afterwards took another Way. We cannot doubt that a Statue was to be seen in the Place where *Joan* was supposed to have been delivered of her Son, being assured by *Theodoric* of *Niem*, who passed the best Part of his Time at *Rome*, and was Secretary to Two Popes, that it was still extant at the Time he wrote, that is, in 1413. But from thence we cannot conclude the Story to be true, but only that it was believed when the Statue was erected (D); as it was believed when the Statue of the *she Pope* was placed, in the Cathedral of *Siena*, among those of the Popes <sup>Her Statue in the Cathedral at Siena.</sup> from *St. Peter* to *Pius II.* and placed between *Leo IV.* and *Benedict III.* with this Inscription, *Joan VIII. an English Woman.* In *Baronius's* Time this Statue was still to be seen in the Cathedral of *Siena*; but Cardinal *Tarugi*, Archbishop of that City, applying to the Grand Duke, at his Request the Features were altered by his Royal Highness, and the Statue of Pope *Joan* was metamorphosed into that of Pope *Zachary*; but, as all knew that it had once represented the female Pope, it was broken, or removed, before the Year 1677, to abolish her very Memory <sup>z</sup> (E). As for the perforated Chair, Three Chairs

<sup>x</sup> Theodoric. Niem. de Priv. et Juribus Imp. Eccles. <sup>y</sup> Guillem. Brevin. de sept. Romæ  
<sup>z</sup> Pagi, ad ann. 853. n. 17.

(D) It was more probably an ancient Statue; but believed by *Theodoric* of *Niem* to be Pope *Joan's*, as it represented a Woman and her Child; and the Fable of the *she Pope* universally obtained in his Time.

(E) What Care was taken at *Siena* to abolish all Remembrance of Pope *Joan*, as well as of the Statue with which she was honoured in the stately Cathedral of that City, will appear from what happened to the very learned Father *Antonius Pagi*, and is related by himself: As he passed through *Siena* in 1677, and was very desirous of being informed upon the Spot of every Particular relating to the famous Statue of the *she Pope* in that Cathedral, he applied for Information to the Religious of his own Order, the *Minorites*; but

they, to his great Surprise, pretended all to a Man never to have heard of such a Statue. Hereupon *Pagi*, finding they avoided, he knew not why, entering upon the Subject, repaired to the Cathedral, and addressing most of the Prebendaries as they came out of the Choir after Vespers, told them, that he wanted to see the Statue of Pope *Joan*, and begged they would shew it him, as it might afford him some new Light to confute the Fable, and confound the Heretics; but they all walked off, without so much as deigning to return him an Answer. When they were all gone, a Man, advanced in Years, accosting him, told him, that he had long belonged to that Cathedral; and that, as it was not to gratify his Curiosity, but, as he understood,

The perforated Chair.

Chairs were formerly made use of in the Installation of the Pope: The First was of white Marble, stood in the Porch of the *Lateran* Church, and was not perforated; the other Two were of Porphyry, were both perforated, and they stood before the Chapel of St. *Silvester* in the same Church. In the First of these Chairs the new Pope was placed, after he had been acknowledged by the Cardinals; and while he rose from it, the 7th and 8th Verses of the 113th Psalm were sung in *Latin*, *Suscitat de pulvere egenum, et de stercore erigit pauperem, &c.* and from thence that Chair took the Name of *Stercoraria*. From that the Pope was attended by the Cardinals to the Two other Chairs, was placed in both; and, while he sat in the one, the Keys of the *Lateran* Church were delivered to him by the Prior of St. *Laurence*, and he returned them to him while he sat in the other. The Reader will find this Ceremony described in Verse by a Cardinal, in a Poem he wrote on the Coronation of *Boniface VIII*<sup>a</sup>. At what time, or by whom, the Use of these Chairs was first introduced, we know not. *Cenci*, who wrote in the Twelfth Century, is the First who mentions them; but it is not certain that No-

<sup>a</sup> Cardin. Jacob. apud Bolland. tom. iv. Maii, p. 471.

for the Good of the Church, he wanted to be informed concerning the Statue of Pope *Joan*, he would give him what Information should be thought necessary for so good a Purpose, provided he engaged never to discover the Person who had given it. With this Condition *Pagi* very readily complied; and thereupon the good old Man answered all his Questions to his full Satisfaction, shewed him the Place where the Statue had stood, told him when it was changed into that of *Zachary*, when it was removed; viz. in the Pontificate of *Alexander VII.* a Native of *Siena*, &c. (1). Thus *Pagi*; and I cannot help observing here, that the Promise of Secrecy insisted on by the old Man, the clownish Behaviour of the Dignitaries of the Church in One of the most polite Cities of all *Italy*, and the Shyness of the Friars, averse to enter upon the Topic of the female Pope even among themselves, and with a very learned Man of their own Order, who, they knew, would make a good Use of the Information they should give him, plainly shew, that an

Order had been issued, no doubt, by the Inquisition, commanding all the Inhabitants of *Siena* to observe a strict Silence with respect to Pope *Joan* and her Statue. And it is not at all to be doubted but the like Order has been lately issued by the same Tribunal in another City of *Italy*, injoining the Inhabitants to forbear all Mention of one, whom they cruelly tortured and racked to Death. In Compliance with that Order, they must all pretend never to have heard of such a Man, as the Friars at *Siena* pretended never to have heard of the famous Statue, which had stood so many Years in that Cathedral, and had but a little Time before been removed. But an honest Man, I trust, will one Day be found at *Macerata*, as well as at *Siena*, who will speak the Truth, to the eternal Infamy of the Ministers of that hellish Court, striving to conceal with lying *Certificates*, and lying *Attestations*, as remarkable an Instance of their Cruelty and Injustice as any that occurs in History.

(1) *Pagi*, ad ann. 853. n. 17.

tice was taken by any Writer before the Fifteenth Century of the Use that was then said to have been made of them; *viz.* to know whether the Person they had chosen was a Man or a Woman. The Chairs, especially the Two perforated ones, are thought by learned Antiquaries to have been used by the *Romans* (for they are ancient) in their hot Baths; and they are said to have been discovered in the Ruins of those Baths. As the Placing of the new-chosen Pope in them confirmed the ignorant People in the Belief of the Fable of the she Pope, it was thought adviseable to abolish that Ceremony; and it was accordingly abolished in the Sixteenth Century <sup>b</sup>.

The female Pope owes her Existence and her Promotion to the *Roman Catholics* themselves; for by them that Fable was invented, <sup>*The Fable of the female Pope invented by the Roman Catholics.*</sup> was published to the World by their Priests and Monks before the Reformation, and was credited, upon their Authority, even by those who were most zealously attached to the holy See, and among the rest by St. *Anteninus*, Archbishop of *Florence*; nor did they begin to confute it till Protestants reproached them with it, as reflecting great Dishonour on the See of St. *Peter*. *Aeneas Silvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius II.* in the Fifteenth Century, was the First that questioned the Truth of the Fact, saying, *that the Story was not certain* <sup>c</sup>. After him *Aventinus*, who was a *Lutheran* in his Heart, absolutely denied it, and many others undertook to confute it; but none, perhaps, with better Success than the Two Protestant Writers *Sarau* and *Blondel*; who have alleged such Reasons against the Existence of the she Pope as are absolutely unanswerable: And indeed, had they not been convinced themselves of the Falsity of the Fact, no Man can think, that Two such zealous Protestants would have taken so much Pains to convince others.

Various Conjectures have been offered by those who have thought it worth their while to inquire into the Origin of this Fable: Some say, with *Baronius*, that *John VIII.* betrayed so much Cowardice in the Cause of *Photius*, as I shall have Occasion to relate hereafter, that it was thought he should rather be called a Woman than a Man. *Aventinus* will have the Fable to have taken its Rise from the Election of Pope *John IX.* raised to the See by the Interest of *Theodora*, a noble and imperious Courtezan. *Onuphrius Panvinus* is of Opinion, that *Joan Rainiere*, another famous Courtezan, who governed *John XII.* as well as the State, with an uncontrouled Power, was

<sup>b</sup> Mabil. Musæum Italic. part. i. p. 159.      <sup>c</sup> *Æn. Sil.* ep. 130.

*The History of the POPES, or* Benedict III.

called in Raillery the *she Pope*. Many other Conjectures have been alleged concerning the Origin of a Fable, that was for so long a Time and so universally credited <sup>d</sup>; but, as they are only Conjectures, I shall not trouble the Reader with them, the Story of a female Pope being now generally, not to say universally, rejected by Men of Learning, whether Protestants or Papists, as an Event first mentioned by Writers who flourished Two hundred Years at least after the Fact in question, and absolutely irreconcilable with indisputable Facts related by cotemporary Historians.

LOTHARIUS  
and LEWIS II.  
Emperors of the ~~Romans~~

## BENEDICT III.

MICHAEL  
Emperor of the ~~Romans~~

*The Hundredth and Third BISHOP of Rome.*

Benedict III.  
*chosen.*  
Year of  
Christ 855.

**I**N the room of *Leo*, the Roman People, the Clergy, and the Nobility, chose *immediately*, says *Anastasius* <sup>e</sup>, and with one Consent, *Benedict*, the Third of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Peter*, and Presbyter of the Title of *St. Callistus*. He was at his Prayers in that Church when News was brought him of his Election; and thinking himself unequal to so great a Charge, he begged with many Tears they would leave him where they found him. But the People, paying no kind of Regard to his Tears and Entreaties, carried him in Triumph to the *Lateran* Church, and there placed him, with loud Acclamations, on the Pontifical Throne. At the same time the Decree of his Election was drawn up, was signed by the Clergy and the Nobility, and sent, in Compliance with the ancient Custom, to the Emperors *Lotharius* and *Lewis* <sup>f</sup>. But those who were charged with it, *viz.* *Nicholas* Bishop of *Anagni*, and *Mercurius*, *magister militie*, being gained over by *Arsenius* Bishop of *Eugubio*, as they passed through that City, promised to declare, upon their Return to *Rome*, for the Presbyter *Anastasius*, who had been deposed in a Council, and excommunicated by the preceding Pope *g*. The Roman Deputies, returning to *Rome*, were soon followed by those from the Two Emperors, sent to assist at the Ordination of the new Pope. But the latter being met at *Horta*,

*The Imperial*  
*Envoys de-*  
*clare for*  
*Anastasius.*

<sup>d</sup> See Blondel. *Ecclaircissement.* p. 85, &c.  
<sup>e</sup> *ibid.*    <sup>f</sup> See above, p. 242.

<sup>e</sup> Anast. in Benedict. III.    <sup>f</sup> Idem

about

about Forty Miles from *Rome*, by the Bishops *Arsenius*, *Nicholas*, and Two others; viz. *Rodoald* of *Porto*, and *Agatho* of *Todi*, and Three Captains of the Militia, they were prevailed upon by them to abandon *Benedict*, and side with *Anastasius*. Of this *Benedict* was no sooner informed, than he dispatched the Two Bishops *Gregory* and *Maiso*, with Letters to the Envoys. But they, paying no kind of Regard to the Pope or his Letters, or even to the Right of Nations, ordered, no doubt at the Instigation of *Anastasius*, the Two venerable Prelates to be bound, and strictly guarded. Hereupon *Benedict* sent *Hadrian*, Secundicerius of the Apostolic See, and Duke *Gregory*, to meet the Envoys; who, in the mean time, sent an Order to *Rome*, requiring, in the Name of the Emperors, the Clergy, the People, and the Senate, to meet them the next Day beyond *Ponte Molle*. They complied with the Order; and the Envoys, attended by them, entered the *Leonine* City, where *Anastasius* pulled down, and either burnt or broke in Pieces the Images that *Leo* had set up there in the Church of *St. Peter*; among the rest an Image of our Saviour, and another of the Virgin *Mary*; and effaced the Representation of a Council, perhaps of the Council that deposed him, which *Leo* had caused to be painted on the Gates of that Basilic. From the *Leonine* City, *Anastasius*, advancing through *Rome* to the *Lateran* Palace, and placing himself in the Pontifical Throne, ordered *Benedict* to be stripped of the Ensigns of his Dignity, to be cruelly beaten, and to be delivered up to the Two Prefbyters *John* and *Hadrian*, whom Pope *Leo* had deposed for their Crimes. This occasioned a general Grief and Consternation among all Ranks of Men: The Clergy and the Bishops, who were then in *Rome*, attended by the People, repaired to the *Emilian* Church, to implore there the Protection of Heaven at so critical a Juncture; but they were soon interrupted by the Imperial Envoys, who, breaking into the Church, threatened them with present Death, if they did not acquiesce in the Election of *Anastasius*. The Bishops answered with great Firmness and Intrepidity, that they would rather suffer a thousand Deaths than be any-ways accessory to the Consecration of one deposed and anathematized by a Council. The Envoys, finding they were not to be frightened into a Compliance, retired to a Room in the Basilic; and having ordered the Bishops of *Ostia* and *Albano* to attend them there, they spared neither Threats nor Promises to gain them over to the Party of *Anastasius*, and prevail

Year of  
Christ 855.

*Benedict is  
stripped of  
the Ensigns  
of his Dignity, &c.*



Year of  
Christ 855.

The Bishops  
refuse to con-  
secrate Ana-  
stasius.

He is aban-  
doned by the  
Imperial En-  
voys, and Be-  
nedict conse-  
crated.

upon them to perform the Ceremony of his Consecration. But the Two Prelates not only withstood both their Threats and their Promises, but had Resolution enough to reprimand the Envoys for thinking them capable of so enormous a Crime as that of consecrating one, whom a Council had deposed, and tempting them to it. The Envoys, now sensible they could not prevail, began to relent; and the Point being disputed on both Sides with great Warmth, in a Conference they had with the Bishops and the Clergy in the *Lateran* Palace, they yielded in the End; and, driving *Anastasius* from the Palace, ordered *Benedict* to be set at Liberty, and he was, Three Days after, carried in Triumph to the Church of *St. Peter*, and there ordained in the Presence of the Imperial Envoys, of the Bishops, and of the *Roman* People and Nobility, and acknowledged by all, even by the most zealous Partizans of *Anastasius*, for lawful Pope. Thus far the *Bibliothecarian* 8.: And, in his Account, one Thing occurs worthy of Notice; *viz.* that the *ancient Custom* still obtained of sending the Decree of the Election of the new Pope to the Emperor, and not ordaining him till the Emperor confirmed it, and sent Deputies to assist at his Ordination; for *Anastasius* tells us, that it was *in Compliance with such an ancient Custom that the Clergy and Nobility of Rome signed the Decree of the Election of Benedict, and sent it to the most invincible Emperors Lotharius and Lewis*. That Custom, therefore, was not yet abrogated, as is supposed by *Baronius*, pretending that the Emperors *Lotharius* and *Lewis* yielded to *Leo*, the immediate Predecessor of *Benedict*, the Right they claimed of confirming the Election of the new Pope, or interfering any-ways in it.

Æthelwulph  
King of the  
West Sax-  
ons, with his  
Son Alfred,  
at Rome.

Soon after the Election of *Benedict*, *Æthelwulph*, King of the *West Saxons*, came to *Rome* with his Son *Alfred*, and continued there a whole Year; during which time, he made rich Offerings to *St. Peter*, whereof the Reader will find a long Catalogue in *Anastasius*, and Presents to the Clergy, the Nobility, and the People <sup>h</sup>. He is likewise said to have rebuilt the *English* School at *Rome*, that had been consumed long before by Fire <sup>i</sup>, and to have granted Three hundred Mancuses (F) a Year to the Bishops of *Rome*, in Honour of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* <sup>k</sup>. As he passed through *France* on his Return

<sup>g</sup> Anast. in Benedict. III.

<sup>h</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Polyd. Virg. l. v. p. 96.

<sup>k</sup> Affer. annal. ad ann. 855.

(F) The *Saxon* Mancuse is, according to the Author of the *Thesaurus Septentrionalis*, equal in Value to Three Half-Crowns of our Money.

to his own Kingdom, he married *Judith*, the Daughter of *Charles the Bald*, and brought her with him into *England*. In his Absence, his eldest Son *Ethelbald* usurped the Crown; but as the *Danes* had already committed dreadful Ravages in his Dominions, and threatened them with a new Invasion, *Ethelwulph* chose rather to compound with the Usurper, than to kindle a War, at so critical a Juncture, in the Bowels of the Kingdom; and he contented himself accordingly with the Eastern Provinces, that is, with *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surry*, and left his Son in the quiet Possession of the rest. *Ethelwulph* is greatly commended by the Monkish Writers for his Piety, that is, for his Prodigality in enriching the Church at the Expence of his Subjects; but he would have better deserved the Commendations they bestow on him, if, instead of undertaking so long a Journey to visit the pretended Tombs of the Apostles, and staying so long abroad, he had not stirred from home, where his Presence was necessary to repulse the *Danes*, now become a very troublesome and formidable Enemy, but employed in the Defence of his People the Wealth he squandered away upon the Priests, the Saints, and holy Places at *Rome*.

The following Year *Michael*, Emperor of the East, hearing of the Election of *Benedict*, dispatched to *Rome* one *Lazarus* a Monk, and skilful Painter, to congratulate, in his Name, the new Pope upon his Promotion. By this Monk the Emperor sent many valuable Presents to *St. Peter*, and among the rest the Book of the Gospels covered with pure Gold, and a Golden Chalice, both enriched with precious Stones of various Kinds <sup>k</sup>.

The same Year the Pope received a Letter from *Lupus* Abbot of *Ferrieres*, a Man greatly esteemed in this Age, recommending to his Holiness Two Monks of his Monastery, who had undertaken a Pilgrimage to the Tombs of the Apostles, and begging him to instruct them in the Practices and Customs of the *Roman* Church, and to send him by them, upon their Return, the following Books, the Commentaries of *St. Jerom* upon *Jeremiah*, from the Sixth Book to the End; *Cicero de Oratore*; the Twelve Books of *Quintilian's* Institutions; and the Commentary upon *Terence*; which Books, he says, he cannot procure in *France*, and will send back to his Holiness as soon as transcribed <sup>l</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Anast. ibid. <sup>l</sup> Lupus, ep. 103.

Benedict dies  
Year of  
Christ 858.

The Pope died the 8th of *April* 858, having governed the *Roman* See Two Years, Six Months, and Ten Days. He was chosen, indeed, a few Days after the Death of *Leo*, which happened on the 17th of *July* 855; but he was not ordained till the 29th of *September* of the

same Year. Of this Pope Two Letters have reached our Times; the one to *Hincmar* of *Reims*, confirming the Acts of the Second Council of *Soissons*, which *Leo* his Predecessor had refused to confirm, as those who were condemned by that Council had appealed to *Rome*<sup>1</sup>; the other is a Letter to the Bishops of the Kingdom of *Charles the Bald*, wherein he enumerates the many Crimes that a Subdeacon, named *Hubert*, the Son of Count *Boso*, was accused of; *viz.* of Murder, of Adultery, of Fornication, of spending his whole Time in the Company of Actresses, and other lewd Women, of seizing on the Goods of the Monastery of St. *Maurice*, in Defiance of the Privileges granted to that Monastery by the Apostolic See; of violently breaking into another Monastery, which no Woman had ever been allowed to set Foot in, and rioting there, for several Days together, with Prostitutes, &c. The Pope requires the Subdeacon, by virtue of his Apostolic Authority, to appear at *Rome* within the Space of Thirty Days after the Receipt of his Letter, in order to plead his Cause in Person before the Apostolic See, on Pain of being excluded from the Company of the Faithful<sup>m</sup>. Two other Letters are ascribed to this Pope; the one confirming the Privileges of the Abby of *Corbie*; and the other those of the Abby of St. *Denis*: But some question the Genuineness of these Letters. *Benedict* was buried in the *Vatican*, whither his Body, attended by the Bishops, and all the Clergy, was carried by the Deacons, among whom was his immediate Successor, on their Shoulders, and placed by them in the Grave, pursuant to an ancient Custom which he had revived, ordering all Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, to assist at the Funerals, and pray for the Souls of their deceased Brethren. He enriched the Churches of *Rome* with many Presents of great Value, which *Anastasius* has taken care to enumerate, telling us that he was no less generous to the Poor, to the destitute Orphans and Widows, than he was to the Clergy and the Churches. He is said to have been blessed with a Sweetness of Temper that endeared him to all;

<sup>1</sup> Benedict. III. ep. 1. tom. iii. Concil. Gal.    <sup>m</sup> Benedict. ep. 2. ibid.

and he is commended on that account even by *Photius of Constantinople*, tho' a sworn Enemy to the Apostolic See <sup>n</sup>.

LEWIS II.

*Emperor of the West.*

NICHOLAS.

MICHAEL and BASILIUS,

*Emperors of the East.*

*The Hundred and Fourth BISHOP of Rome.*

**B**ENEDICT was succeeded by *Nicholas*, a Native of *Rome*, <sup>Nicholas</sup> the Son of *Theodore*, and Deacon of the *Roman Church*. <sup>chosen.</sup> The <sup>Year of</sup> Clergy, the Nobility, and the People, chose him, with one Consent, <sup>Christ 858.</sup> a few Days after the Decease of his Predecessor, and carrying him, by Force, from the Basilic of *St. Peter*, where he had concealed himself to avoid being chosen, to the *Lateran Palace*, placed him there on the Apostolic Throne. The Emperor *Lewis* had left *Rome* a little Time before the Death of *Benedict*; but he no sooner heard of it, than he returned to that City, and there assisted in Person at the Consecration of the new Pope. That Ceremony was performed, according to Custom, in the Basilic of *St. Peter*, on the 24th of *April 858*, after the See had been vacant Fifteen Days; and from thence the Pope was carried back to the *Lateran Church*, and there crowned, amidst the loud Acclamations of the *Roman People*. <sup>The First Pope that was crowned.</sup> The Ceremony of crowning the Pope was, it seems, first introduced at this time; no Notice, at least, has been hitherto taken of it by *Anastasius*, or any other ancient Writer. The Emperor, having entertained the Pope at Dinner the Third Day after his Election, retired from *Rome* to a Place in the Neighbourhood, called *Quintus*; and being informed while he staid there, that the Pope, attended by the *Roman Nobility*, was coming to visit him, he not only went out to <sup>How honoured by the Emperor Lewis.</sup> meet him, but, dismounting as he approached, took hold of his Bridle, and, forgetful of his Dignity, led his Horse the Distance of a Bow-shot on Foot, and did so again at their parting p. The State that the Popes afterwards took upon them, was chiefly owing to these and such-like Marks of extraordinary Respect shewn them by superstitions and bigotted Kings and Emperors; for, elated therewith, they began to look upon themselves as Lords of the Universe, and upon the Princes of the Earth as their Vassals.

• Phot. de Process. Spirit. Sancti.

• Anast. in Nichol. I.

• Idem ibid.

The Church  
of Bremen  
subjected to  
that of Ham-  
burgh.  
Year of  
Christ 859.

The First thing I find recorded of this Pope is his confirming the Union of the Churches of *Hamburgh* and *Bremen*. As *Hamburgh* had been made an Archiepiscopal See in the Time of *Gregory IV.* but had no Suffragans, *Lewis*, King of *Germany*, thought of subjecting to it the See of *Bremen*; and he did so accordingly, upon the Death of *Leuderic*, the Third Bishop of that City. This Change met at first with no Opposition, the Archiepiscopal See of *Cologne*, to which that of *Bremen* was Suffragan, being then vacant. But *Gunthier*, the new Archbishop, remonstrating against it as soon as he was chosen, the King, and the Bishops of his Kingdom assembled in Council at *Mentz* applied to him for his Approbation and Consent. *Gunthier* referred the whole Affair to the Pope; and his Holiness not only confirmed the Change of Jurisdiction, but appointed *Anscharius*, then Archbishop of *Hamburgh*, Legate of the Apostolic See to the *Swedes*, the *Danes*, the *Sclavi*, and the other Northern Nations<sup>9</sup>.

The Empress  
Theodora  
confined to a  
Monastery.

The Deposition of *Ignatius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and Intrusion of *Photius* that happened in this or in the preceding Year, engaged, above all Things, the Attention of the new Pope, as the Disturbances that arose from thence, and divided the Eastern Bishops into Two opposite Parties, gave him an Opportunity of exerting the Power and Authority claimed by his Predecessors over that Patriarchal and rival See. *Ignatius*, originally called *Nicetas*, was the Third Son of the Emperor *Michael*, surnamed *Rhangabe*; but being obliged by *Leo* the *Armenian*, when he drove his Father from the Throne, to take the monastic Habit, he exchanged on that Occasion the Name of *Nicetas* for that of *Ignatius*, and lived retired in the Islands of *Hyatros* and *Terbinthus*, which he is said to have peopled with Monks, till the Year 846, when he was raised to the Patriarchal See by the Interest of *Theodora*, Guardian to her Son *Michael*, the present Emperor, and Sister to *Bardas*<sup>r</sup>. This Man *Ignatius* had frequently reprimanded, with the Liberty becoming a Person of his Character and Station, for divorcing his own Wife, and living publicly with his Brother's, and even refused him the Eucharist, as he came to receive it on the Day of the *Epiphany* with the other Officers of the Crown. This *Bardas* highly resented; but sensible that he could not wreak his Vengeance upon the Patriarch till *Theo-*

<sup>9</sup> Rembert. vit. Anschar. c. 30. 36. et Annal. Fuldens. ad ann. 857.  
in vit. Santi Ignat. tom. viii. Concil. p. 1180, & seq.

<sup>r</sup> Nicetas

dera,

*dora*, his great Friend and Protectress, was removed, he undertook, in the First place, to estrange the Mind of the Emperor from her, painting her to him as a Woman of an unbounded Ambition and restless Temper; as one who ingrossed the whole Power to herself, and seemed determined never to part with it: He therefore advised him to shake off at last the female Yoke, to take the Reins of the Government into his own Hands, and to cause his imperious Mother and his Sisters, who would lay hold of every Opportunity to disturb him in the Exercise of his sovereign Authority, to be shaved and veiled in a Monastery. The Emperor, jealous of his Power, and suspecting no evil Design in *Bardas*, hearkened to his Advice; and sending immediately for the Patriarch, ordered him to consecrate on the Spot his Mother and his Sisters to a religious Life; it being his Will and Pleasure that they should spend the rest of their Days in a Monastery. The Patriarch, surprised at such a Proposal, remonstrated against it as repugnant to the Canons, forbidding any to be consecrated to a religious Life against their Will, and absolutely refused to perform the Ceremony. The Emperor, impatient to get rid of his Mother and his Sisters, was highly provoked at the Refusal of the Patriarch, and *Bardas*, not to let slip so favourable an Opportunity of compassing his Ruin, took care to incense the Emperor still more against him, pretending that he had encouraged one *Gebus* a Rebel, who, giving out that he was the Son of *Theodora* by another Husband, had gained by that means many Followers. The Charge was quite groundless; but the Emperor believing, or pretending to believe it, ordered the Patriarch to be forthwith driven from the Patriarchal Palace, and transported to the Island of *Terebinthus*, where he had lived before his Election. He had not been Three Days in the Place of his Exile, when the Emperor sent first some of the leading Men among the Bishops, and a few Days after some of the Patrician Order, and the chief Judges, to persuade him to resign in due Form the Patriarchal Dignity; but tho' they could neither by Threats nor by Promises prevail upon him to comply, they nevertheless declared him lawfully deposed; and *Photius*, then a Layman, was chosen in his room.

Year of  
Christ 859.

Ignatius of  
Constanti-  
nople driven  
from his See,  
and sent into  
Exile.

Photius  
raised to the  
Patriarchal  
See in his  
room.

*Photius* was descended of an illustrious Family; had discharged the first Employments of the Empire with uncommon Applause; was universally looked upon as a Man of extraordinary Abilities, as

• Nicetas ibid.

M m 2

Year of  
Christ 859.

a consummate Statesman, as the best skilled of all his Contemporaries in Grammar, in Poetry, in Oratory, in Philosophy, nay, and in Physic; and thought to rival the Ancients themselves in every Branch of Literature. As his Ambition and Love of Glory knew no Bounds, he had likewise applied himself to the Study of Ecclesiastical Matters, aspiring at, and not despairing of being One Day able to attain to the Patriarchal Dignity in the Imperial City. To that high Station he was raised by the Interest of *Bardas*; who now had none to share with him the Power, and the Emperor's Favour, *Theodora* and her Daughters having been veiled by One of the Bishops of the Court, and shut up in a Monastery. As *Photius* was a Layman at the Time of his Election, and the Canons required all Ecclesiastics to rise by Degrees, he was the First Day made a Monk, the Second Reader, the Third Subdeacon, the Fourth Deacon, the Fifth Presbyter, and the Sixth he was consecrated Patriarch by *Gregory*, surnamed *Arbesta*, Bishop of *Syracuse*, whom the Patriarch *Ignatius* had deposed in a Council for his irregular Conduct † (K).

*Ignatius*  
treated with  
great Cruelty.

The Expulsion of *Ignatius*, and Intrusion of *Photius*, occasioned great Disturbances in the Eastern Churches, especially in the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, some of those Bishops acknowledging the one, and some the other. They who acknowledged *Photius* insisted upon a Promise from him in Writing, that he would not molest or persecute the deposed Patriarch; but, on the contrary, honour and respect him as his Father. But he was scarce warm in the Patriarchal

† Idem ibid.

(K) *Photius* thought he should thus avoid the Imputation of being raised to the Episcopal Dignity, without passing through the inferior Orders of the Church, as was required by the Canons, especially by the Tenth Canon of the Council of *Sardica*. And this is, perhaps, the First Instance that occurs in History of such a Practice; for, in the preceding Ages, when a Layman was, in case of Necessity, or on account of his extraordinary Merit, preferred to the Episcopacy, he did not receive one Order one Day, and another the next, &c. but was ordained Bishop at once. *Photius* really passed through all the inferior Degrees to the Episcopal Ordination; but nevertheless Pope *Nicholas* declared his Ordination uncanonical, as his passing through them in the manner he did, no ways an-

swered the End of the Canon, which was, that, in every Order, a Man should give some Proof of his Faith and good Conversation. However, the Custom introduced by *Photius*, and condemned by Pope *Nicholas* and for a long Time by his Successors, now obtains in the Church of *Rome*; for tho' that Church, to avoid a Breach of the Canons, never confers all the Orders at once, nor on so many following Days, lest she should be thought to have adopted a Practice brought into the Church by *Photius*, and so much inveighed against by One of the greatest of her Bishops; yet she confers them on so many following Sundays, by as manifest a Breach of the Canons, as if she conferred them all at once, or on so many following Days.

Chair,

Chair, when, unmindful of his Promise, he raised a most furious Persecution against his Rival, and the Bishops who adhered to him, as well as his other Friends, pretending they had conspired against the State, but, in Truth, to oblige *Ignatius* by that means to resign his Dignity. Under that Pretence, his Friends were seized, were cruelly beaten, and confined to the most inhospitable Places of the Empire. One of them, by Name *Basilus*, who spoke with more Freedom than the rest, had his Tongue cut out, and was otherwise used with the utmost Barbarity. *Ignatius* himself met with no better Treatment than his Friends: He was most inhumanly beaten, without any Regard to his Character, or his high Birth, was loaded with Irons like a common Malefactor, and thus carried from the Island of *Terebinthus*, where he lived in a most magnificent Monastery built by the Emperor his Father, to several abandoned Places, and lastly to *Mitylene*, and there strictly guarded <sup>u</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 859.

In the mean time, such of the Metropolitans, and other Bishops, as were the most zealously attached to *Photius*, meeting in a Council at *Constantinople*, *Ignatius* was by them declared unworthy of the Patriarchal Dignity; and they accordingly excommunicated and deposed him. This Council was held in the Church of the holy Apostles; and in that of *Irene* was held another at the same time by the Bishops of the Party of *Ignatius*; and they, in their Turn, condemned *Photius* as an Intruder into the Patriarchal See <sup>w</sup>. *Photius*, finding the Bishops thus divided, resolved to apply to the Pope, and get his Election, by some means or other, approved by him. With this View, he persuaded the Emperor to send a solemn Embassy to *Rome*, and entreat his Holiness to dispatch Legates into the East, in order to restore there, jointly with him, the decayed Discipline, and utterly extirpate the Heresy of the *Iconoclasts*, that began to spring up anew. This Embassy, he knew, would be acceptable to the Pope; and he flattered himself that he should be able to prevail on the Legates to confirm his Election. *Photius* sent at the same time Four Bishops, in his own Name, to acquaint the Pope, that *Ignatius* had resigned the Patriarchal Dignity on account of his Age and Infirmities; that, upon his Resignation, he had retired to a Monastery in an Island, where the greatest Respect was shewn him both by the Emperor and the People; that the Clergy and the Metropolitans had unanimously chosen him to fill the vacant See, and forced

Excommunicated and  
deposed in a  
Council.

Year of  
Christ 860.

*Photius applies to the Pope.*

<sup>u</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>w</sup> Epist. Metroph. apud Baron. ad ann. 870.



Year of  
Christ 850.

him, jointly with the Emperor, to accept of a Charge, to which he knew himself to be altogether unequal \*. “When I reflect,” says he in his Letter, “on the Greatness of the Episcopal Dignity, on the Weakness of Man, and my own in particular, and recollect, that to me it had always been Matter of the greatest Astonishment that any one, liable to the Infirmities of human Nature, should take upon him so tremendous a Charge, I cannot express the Concern I am under at my being obliged to take that very Charge upon myself. But the Clergy, the Metropolitans, and the Emperor kind to all, and cruel to me alone, have laid so heavy a Burden upon me, without hearkening to my Entreaties, or being affected with my Tears.”

The Pope received the Imperial Embassadors, of whom the Chief was *Arfa* the Protospatharius who brought many rich Presents for *St. Peter* †, and likewise the *Aprocrisarii* or Legates of *Photius*, in the Church of *St. Mary ad Præsepe*, now *St. Mary the Greater*; and being informed by them of the Deposition of *Ignatius*, and Ordination of *Photius*, he resolved, with the Advice of a Council, which he assembled on that Occasion, to send Legates to *Constantinople*, in Compliance with the Request of the Emperor; and the Two Bishops, *Rodoald* of *Porto*, and *Zachary* of *Anagni*, were named for that Legation. Their Instructions were, to conform to the Decree of the Seventh Council in what they should determine or define concerning the Article of Images; but as the Pope had not heard from *Ignatius* himself, they were ordered only to procure the necessary Informations relating to his Affair, and to refer the final Decision to the Judgment of the Apostolic See.

The Pope's  
Letter to the  
Emperor.

The Pope wrote by the Legates both to the Emperor and to *Photius*. In his Letter to the Emperor, he complains of their having deposed *Ignatius* without consulting the Apostolic See, and appointed a Layman in his room, in Defiance of the Canons of the Church, and the Decrees of the *Roman* Pontiffs; declares that he cannot approve of the Ordination of *Photius*, till his Legates have informed him of every Particular concerning it; will have *Ignatius* to appear in Person before his Legates and the whole Council, that they may learn from himself the Reason why he has forsaken his Flock, and at the same time inquire, whether his Deposition has been in every respect agreeable to the Canons. When a true and faithful Report,

\* Nicetas, ubi sup. Anast. in hist. Synod. 8. Metrophan, ubi sup. Nicol.

† Anast. in

says the Pope, shall be made to us of these, and other Circumstances attending his Deposition, we shall thereupon determine what shall seem to us most conducive to the Peace and Tranquillity of your Church. In the next place, he recommends to the Emperor the Worship of Images as agreeable to Scripture; entreats him to restore the Patrimonies of the *Roman* See in *Sicily* and *Calabria*, which his Predecessors had seized, and with them the Authority and Jurisdiction which the preceding Popes had exercised, by the Bishop of *Theffalonica* their Vicar, over *Old* and *New Epirus*, *Illyricum*, *Macedonia*, *Theffaly*, *Achaia*, both *Dacias*, *Mysia*, *Dardania*, and *Prævalis*; begs he will allow the Bishop of *Syracuse* to be thenceforth ordained, according to ancient Custom, by the *Roman* Pontiffs; and closes his Letter with a warm Recommendation of the Two Legates<sup>2</sup>. The Direction of the Letter was, *Nicholas Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his beloved Son Michael, glorious Emperor of the Greeks.*

Year of  
Christ 860.

The Pope, in his Letter to *Photius*, owns his Belief to be altogether orthodox, for *Photius* had sent him a Confession of his Faith; but expresses no small Concern at the Irregularity of his Ordination, in being raised from the Condition of a Layman to the Dignity of a Patriarch, by a manifest Breach of the Canons, and the Decrees of the holy *Roman* Pontiffs *Leo*, *Celestine*, and *Gelasius*; and he therefore tells him, that he cannot approve of his Ordination, till the Legates he is upon the Point of sending to *Constantinople*, have informed him of his Manners, of his Behaviour, and his Attachment to the Doctrine of the Church<sup>2</sup>. These Letters are both dated the 25th of *September*, no doubt, of the present Year 860. I cannot help observing here, that in the Confession of Faith, which *Photius* sent to *Rome*, and the Pope received as *altogether orthodox*, it is said, that the Sixth Council rejected or condemned Pope *Honorius*, and all who held and taught with him the impious Doctrine of One Will in Christ, and One Operation: A plain Proof that it was not yet thought heterodox by the Pope himself for a Man to believe him capable of erring, and even of teaching heretical Doctrines.

His Letter to  
Photius.

With the Two above-mentioned Letters the Legates set out for *Constantinople*, not doubting but they should meet with a favourable Reception from the Emperor, at whose Request they were sent. But *Michael* no sooner understood that the Pope had not acknowledged

<sup>2</sup> Nicol. ep. 2. tom. iii Epist Roman. Pontif.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ep. 3.

*Photius,*

The Pope's  
Legates ill-  
used.

Year of  
Christ 861.

Acknowledge  
Photius.

A Council as-  
sembled, and  
Ignatius  
summoned to  
it.

*Photius*, and that the Legates were to communicate with him only as a Layman, than he ordered them to be confined, and carefully kept from conversing, or even speaking, with any but their own People, lest the Friends of *Ignatius* should inform them of the true State of Affairs, and they the Pope. When they had been thus closely confined, and strictly guarded, for the Space of an Hundred Days, the Emperor sent One to let them know, that he was determined, if they did not comply and acknowledge *Photius*, to banish them to the most abandoned and barren Places of the Empire, where Hunger would oblige them to feed upon their own Vermin <sup>b</sup>. The Legates, terrified with these Menaces, and at the same time tempted with the Promise of great Rewards, yielded in the End, acknowledged *Photius*, and engaged to exert all their Interest and Credit in his favour. Hereupon a Council was assembled, near as numerous, as the Emperor boasted in One of his Letters to the Pope, as the great Council of *Nice* at which were present Three hundred and Eighteen Bishops. This Council was held in the spacious Church of the holy Apostles at *Constantinople*, the Emperor assisting at it in Person, with the Pope's Legates, and all the great Officers of the Crown. When they were all met, Messengers were sent to summon *Ignatius*, who had been recalled from Exile, to appear, without Delay, before the great and holy Synod, and answer the several Charges brought against him. But *Ignatius* asking them whether he was to appear as a Bishop, as a Presbyter, or as a Monk, they were at a loss what Answer to return; and therefore telling him, that they should let him know the next Day, they went back to those who sent them, and coming again, summoned him a Second time, in the Name of *Zachary* and *Redwald*, the Pope's Legates, to appear before the Council in the Habit that he thought he could take in Conscience. Attiring himself therefore as Patriarch, he advanced, thus attired, towards the Place where the Council sat, attended by some Bishops and Clerks, and a great Number of Monks and Laymen. But being met in his Way by a Patrician, whom the Emperor had sent to threaten him with Death, if he presumed to appear in any other Habit but that of a Monk, he quitted the Patriarchal Robes, and appeared before the Council only as a Monk. Upon his entering the Assembly, he was received by the Emperor with most opprobrious Language; but, taking no notice of it, he begged leave to speak

<sup>b</sup> Nicol. ep. 6.

to *Zachary* and *Rodoald*; and having obtained it, asked them, Who they were? and what they were come for? They answered, that they were the Legates of Pope *Nicholas*, who had sent them to judge his Cause. He then desired to know whether they had brought Letters from his Holiness to him. The Legates answered they had not, because they did not look upon him as Patriarch, but as one who had been deposed by the Synod of his Province, and should therefore proceed according to the Canons. *If so*, replied *Ignatius*, *begin with driving out the Adulterer: If you cannot do that, you cannot be Judges.* He commands us, the Legates answered, pointing to the Emperor, *to be Judges.* In the mean time, the Metropolitans who adhered to *Photius*, jointly with the Ministers of State, left nothing unattempted to extort from *Ignatius* a Resignation of his Dignity. But, as he withstood both their Threats and their Promises, declaring with great Firmness and Intrepidity, that he would never yield to another the Church that had been committed to his Care, the Council was adjourned.

Year of  
Christ 861.  
His Beha-  
viour.

At their next Meeting, they sent Two Messengers to *Ignatius*, the one a Deacon, the other a Layman, to let him know they were met again, and order him, in the Name of the great and œcumenical Council, to appear before them. With that Order he refused to comply, declaring, that he did not acknowledge those for his Judges, meaning the Legates, who, instead of driving out the Intruder, lived in great Intimacy and Friendship with him, feasted daily at his Table, and had not even been ashamed to accept of his Presents; that he therefore appealed to the Pope, and submitted to his Judgment, being authorized therein by the Fourth Canon of the Council of *Sardica*. At the same time he told the Messengers, that they who sent them, knew not the Laws of the Church; that, by those Laws, an accused Bishop should be summoned by Two Bishops to appear at a Synod, and not by a Deacon and a Layman. But, in Answer to that, they urged the positive Order they had received; and *Ignatius*, upon their threatening to drag him with them, if he did not go of his own Accord, thought it adviseable to yield. He therefore appeared once more at that Assembly; but as he continued, in spite of all their Threats and Promises, unalterable in his Resolution not to resign, the Validity of his Ordination was called in question; and no fewer than Seventy-two Witnesses were produced to swear, that he was chosen by *Favour*, and consequently that his

He appeals to  
the Pope.

Year of  
Christ 861.

Election and Ordination were both uncanonical. They then ordered the Thirtieth Apostolic Canon to be read, where it is said, *If a Bishop, applying to worldly Princes, shall obtain a Church by their Favour, let him be deposed.* It is added in the Canon, *and let all be deposed who communicate with him*; but that Part they suppressed, as they had all communicated with *Ignatius*. He excepted against the Witnesses as evidently suborned, and attesting what he could prove to be false; and, as to the Apostolic Canon, he urged, that they, who had communicated with him, were, by that Canon, to be deposed as well as he; and that, if he was no Patriarch, they were

*He is deposed  
by the Council,*

no Bishops, since they had been all ordained by him. But his Deposition was resolved on; and the Sentence, declaring him unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, being read accordingly, he was first clothed with, and then, in a formal Manner, stripped of the Patriarchal Robes by a Subdeacon, who had been degraded by him for his wicked Life, and was therefore chosen by *Photius* and the Council to perform the Ceremony<sup>c</sup>. His Deposition was approved by the greater Part of the Bishops who were present at the Council, and confirmed by the Legates. However, as several Metropolitans and other Bishops still adhered to him, and had only through Fear agreed to the Sentence of the Council, *Photius*, who knew it, apprehending he should not be allowed quietly to enjoy the usurped Dignity, till *Ignatius* had resigned it, caused him, as soon as the Council was dismissed, to be shut up in a painful Prison, to be loaded with Irons, and daily beaten with the utmost Barbarity, hoping that, to redeem himself from the Miseries he suffered, he would comply in the End, and resign. But, as he continued unalterable in his Resolution to suffer all the Torments his Enemies could inflict, and Death itself, rather than betray his Trust, he was one Day most inhumanly beaten by *Theodore*, One of his Keepers; who, taking hold of his Hand while he lay quite senseless on the Ground, formed a Cross with it on a blank Page, and carried the Page thus signed to *Photius*; who wrote upon it the following Words; *I Ignatius, of Constantinople, own myself to have been chosen against the Canons, and to have governed the Church as an Usurper and a Tyrant.* *Photius* now pretended to be satisfied, as if *Ignatius* had really owned himself unworthy of the Patriarchal Dignity; and he was thereupon set at Liberty, and allowed to retire to a Palace that had formerly belonged

*and treated  
with great  
Barbarity by  
Photius.*

to his Mother; but he had not been long there, when he was informed, that it was agreed between *Photius* and the Emperor, that he should be made publicly to own he had been unlawfully raised to the Episcopal Dignity; that he should publicly read, in the Church of the Apostles, the Act of his Resignation, nay, and even anathematize himself; and that afterwards his Eyes should be put out, and his Right Hand cut off. He had scarce received this Intelligence, when his House was surrounded by a numerous Body of the Imperial Guards sent to apprehend him. But he, in the Disguise of a Porter carrying Two Baskets, passed undiscovered through the Midst of them, and got safe to the Islands. *Photius*, transported with Rage at his Disappointment, caused all the Monasteries in *Constantinople* and the Neighbourhood to be narrowly searched; and Messengers were dispatched into all Parts, with Orders to put *Ignatius* to Death where-ever they found him. But, by constantly flying from one Place to another, and every-where passing for a common Beggar, as he could support himself by no other Means, he had the good Luck to escape the Fury of those who sought his Destruction, till Providence interposed in his favour; for frequent and dreadful Shocks of Earthquake happening at *Constantinople* in the Month of *August* of the present Year, the People, construing them into a Punishment from Heaven for the barbarous Treatment of their innocent Patriarch, began loudly to complain of the Cruelty of his Persecutors, as drawing down upon the whole City the Vengeance of Heaven; insomuch that the Emperor, to appease them, and prevent a general Insurrection, was obliged to promise upon Oath, and cause it to be publicly proclaimed, that *Ignatius* might safely discover himself; that he might safely return to his Monastery; that he should be allowed to live there quite undisturbed; and that none of his Friends should be any-ways molested, not even those who had been aiding and assisting to him in his Flight, or had concealed him. Hereupon *Ignatius* discovering himself, and appearing before *Baradas*, was allowed by him to return to his Monastery; and the Earthquake ceased, says *Nicetas*, after it had shaken the City in a most dreadful Manner for the Space of Forty Days<sup>d</sup>.

*Ignatius* had, before his Flight, caused an Appeal to the Pope to be drawn up by *Theognastus*, formerly Exarch, but at this time Monk, and Abbot of a Monastery in *Rome*. It was addressed, in the

Year of  
Christ 861.

He makes his  
Escape.

Is allowed to  
return to his  
Monastery.

His Appeal  
to the Pope.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

Year of  
Christ 861.

Name of *Ignatius*, of Ten Metropolitans, of several Bishops, and an infinite Number of Presbyters, to the most holy and blessed President and Patriarch of all Sees, Successor to the Prince of the Apostles, and universal Pope. These, and such-like Titles, flattered the Vanity and Ambition of the Popes; and they were freely given them by other Bishops when they wanted their Assistance and Protection. *Ignatius*, in his Appeal, gives the Pope a minute Account of every thing that passed on Occasion of his Expulsion, and the Intrusion of *Photius*; of the Proceedings of the Council that deposed him; of the Prevarication and Corruption of the Apostolic Legates; and of the barbarous and inhuman Treatment he had met with; begs the Pope to undertake his Cause, as his Predecessor *Innocent* undertook that of *Chrysostom*<sup>e</sup>, and, treading in the Footsteps of *Fabian*, *Julius*, *Innocent*, *Leo*, &c. to exert himself, as they had done, in the Defence of one who had suffered so much, and so unjustly<sup>f</sup>.

The Emperor  
sends the Acts  
of the Council  
that deposed  
*Ignatius* to  
the Pope.

Year of  
Christ 862.

With this Appeal, Request, or Memorial, *Theognostus* set out for Rome, in the Disguise of a Layman; but the Two Legates, *Rodoald* and *Zachary*, arriving there before him, informed the Pope, by Word of Mouth, that *Ignatius* had been deposed, and the Election of *Photius* confirmed<sup>g</sup>. They took no kind of Notice of the Part they had acted in that Affair, nor of the Violence that was used. Two Days after arrived *Leo*, Secretary to the Emperor, and brought with him Two Volumes, which he delivered to the Pope, in the Name of the Emperor; the one containing the Acts of the Council concerning the Deposition of *Ignatius*; the other the Acts of the same Council relating to the Worship of Images, which was defined anew by that Assembly<sup>h</sup>. The Emperor's Letter has not reached our Times; but it appears, from the Pope's Answer to it, to have been calculated to persuade his Holiness, that *Ignatius* had procured the Patriarchal Dignity by indirect and unlawful Means, and prevail upon him, on that Account, to agree to his Deposition, and the Ordination of *Photius* in his room. The Substance of *Photius*'s Letter, which was of an extraordinary Length, but written with great Art, is as follows:

*Photius*'s  
Letter to the  
Pope.

“ Charity is the First of all Virtues; it joins those who are distant,  
“ unites those who are at Variance, banishes all Contention and Dis-

<sup>e</sup> See Vol. I. p. 294.  
ep. 10.

<sup>f</sup> Apud Baron. ad ann. 861. n. 28, & seq.

<sup>g</sup> Nicol.

<sup>h</sup> Nicol. ep. 7.

“ cord, reconciles Enemies, and strengthens the Bond of Friendship  
“ between Friends. Charity endures all Things; and it is Charity <sup>Year of</sup>  
“ that makes me patiently endure the severe Reproaches of your <sup>Christ 862.</sup>  
“ Holiness, and ascribe them not to Passion, to Enmity, or to Ha-  
“ tred, but to the Sincerity of your Friendship for me, and your  
“ Zeal for the Honour of the Ecclesiastic Order. As I am fully con-  
“ vinced of the Uprightness of your Intentions, your Holiness will  
“ forgive me, if I open my Mind to you with that Freedom which  
“ Brothers use with each other, and Children with their Parents. I  
“ shall speak nothing but the Truth, and speak it not to contradict  
“ you, but only to defend myself. It behoved then one of your  
“ eminent Virtue to have considered, that this heavy Burden was  
“ forced upon me, and; upon that Consideration, to have pitied,  
“ and not reproved me, to have condoled, and not found Fault  
“ with me. God, from whom nothing is concealed, knows what  
“ Violence has been offered me. I would have made my Escape,  
“ but was detained against my Will, was imprisoned, and guarded  
“ like a common Malefactor, and in the End elected, in spite of my  
“ Remonstrances, of my Sighs and my Tears. These Things are  
“ publicly known, as they have not been transacted in a Corner of  
“ the Earth: Should not I therefore rather be comforted than up-  
“ braided? I have forfeited the undisturbed Peace and Tranquillity  
“ I enjoyed in the Company of my Friends, to whom I was dearer  
“ than their own Relations. To no Man have I ever given just  
“ Cause of Complaint; on the contrary, I have made it my Study  
“ to oblige all Men; and they never will, I hope, have Reason to  
“ repent of the Commendations they have on that Account be-  
“ stowed upon me. To my House resorted daily Men versed in all  
“ the Branches of Literature; and with them I passed my Time in  
“ the Study of the Sciences human and divine. I frequently went  
“ to Court, and they attended me thither, grudged the Time I spent  
“ there, and accompanied me back to my House, where we resumed  
“ our Studies. Who can bear the Loss of such a Life? What a  
“ Flood of Tears has it cost me? I knew, tho’ I had not experienced  
“ it, what Cares and Anxieties attend the Situation in which I have  
“ been placed: I was no Stranger to the Obstinacy and Perverseness  
“ of the Multitude, to their seditious, fickle, and restless Temper.  
“ If you refuse them what they ask, they murmur; if you grant it,  
“ they insult you, as if you durst not refuse it. All think themselves  
“ quali-



Year of  
Christ 862.

“ qualified to govern, and dictate to their Superiors ; but what will  
 “ become of the Vessel that has no other Pilot but the Multitude ;  
 “ of the Army that has no other Commander ? The Vessel will ine-  
 “ vitably be lost, and the Army utterly destroyed. They who go-  
 “ vern, must accommodate themselves to the Tempers and the Pas-  
 “ sions of those whom they govern ; they must pretend to be chear-  
 “ ful when they are sad, and to be sad when they are chearful ; must  
 “ seem to be angry when free from all Anger, and thus live under a  
 “ perpetual Restraint : But, in private Life, and among Friends, a  
 “ Man may appear to be what he really is. I must, in my present Si-  
 “ tuation, chide my Friends, slight my Relations agreeably to the  
 “ Command, shew myself reserved with Offenders, and thus incur  
 “ Hatred on all Sides. This I foresaw, and therefore strove, but strove  
 “ in vain, to avoid so troublesome a Charge. If what I say is be-  
 “ lieved, they injure me who believe it and do not pity me ; if it is  
 “ not believed, they injure me who do not believe me when I speak  
 “ Truth. You will say no Violence ought to have been offered ;  
 “ and in that indeed we agree : But they are to blame who offered  
 “ it, and not I to whom it was offered. But it is, you say, a Breach  
 “ of the Canons to raise a Layman to the Episcopal Dignity. Be it  
 “ so ; they are guilty of that Breach who forced the Episcopal Dig-  
 “ nity upon me, and not I upon whom it was forced. But to those  
 “ Canons we are here all intire Strangers, as they have never obtained  
 “ in the Church of *Constantinople*. However that be, I am as wil-  
 “ ling to resign as I was unwilling to accept so toilsome a Charge.  
 “ It is not at all commendable, I own, to commit the Government  
 “ of the Church to Laymen, nor do I by any means approve of such  
 “ a Practice, and am therefore still in Suspence ; nor shall I give an  
 “ intire Consent to my Promotion till the Return of the Apocrisarii  
 “ I have sent to your Holiness.”

*Photius* employs the remaining Part of his very long Letter to shew, that the Canon, forbidding Laymen to be ordained Bishops, had never been received by the Church of *Constantinople*, nay, that such a Canon never had been heard of there ; alleges several Instances to prove it ; viz. of *Nectarius* ; of his Great-uncle *Tarasius* ; of *Gregory* the Father of the Divine ; of *Thalassius* of *Cesarea*, &c. who were all raised to the Episcopal Throne while they still were Laymen, and cannot be supposed to have been guilty, in consenting thereunto, of the Breach of any Canons which they were ac-

quainted

quainted with; observes, that the Canon in question has been dispensed with even by the *Latins*; that *Ambrose* was preferred to the See of *Milan* while yet a Layman; nay, that *Ambrose*, and *Nectarius* whose Ordination was confirmed by a General Council, were not only Laymen, but Catechumens, when raised to the Episcopacy (F); takes notice of several Laws or Canons that are observed by some, but have never been so much as heard of by others; and among them he reckons the Canon forbidding the Ordination of Laymen received at *Rome*, but utterly unknown at *Constantinople*; and adds, that those Laws alone are universally binding that are universally received; and that, instead of blaming those who are raised from the State of Laymen to the Episcopal Dignity, we ought to honour and commend them for leading such Lives as rendered them more worthy of that Dignity than any of the Priesthood. However, that for the future no room might be left for Complaints of this Nature, he tells the Pope, that, in the Council lately held in the Imperial City, he had consented to the issuing of a Canon, forbidding any Monk or Layman to be thenceforth ordained Bishop, without passing through all the inferior Degrees; wishes that such a Law had always obtained in the Church of *Constantinople*, since it would have delivered him from the many Cares and Difficulties that attend his present Situation, in which it is, he says, incumbent upon him to instruct the Ignorant, to confirm the Wavering, to animate the Slothful, to inspire the Avaricious with the Contempt of Riches, the Proud with mean Thoughts of themselves, the Lewd with the Love of Purity, to check the Impiety of those who insult Christ in his Images, who confound or deny his Natures, or introduce a new one, who curse the Fourth Council, &c. As the Legates had applied to him for the Restoration of the Jurisdiction formerly enjoyed by the *Roman* See over *Epirus*, *Illyricum*, &c. he tells the Pope, that he would, with great Joy, restore those Churches to their ancient Mother, were it left to him, since he should be thereby eased of Part of his Burden; but that it is the Province of the Civil Power, and not

(F) *Nectarius* was not a Catechumen, but a Neophyte, or newly baptized, when he was chosen to succeed *Gregory Nazienzen* in the See of *Constantinople*: For *Socrates* (1) and *Sozomen* (2) tell us, that, at the Time of his Election, he was still clothed with his mystical Garments, that is, the white Garments, which the newly baptized used to wear.

(1) *Socrat.* l. v. c. 8. (2) *Sozom.* l. vii. c. 8.

Year of  
Christ 861.

his, to settle the Limits of Countries, and, with the Limits, the Jurisdiction over them. On this Occasion, he does not forget to commend the Legates, as Men who have distinguished themselves by their Virtue, their Prudence, their Experience, and by their whole Conduct have done Honour to him who sent them. His Holiness, he says, will learn of them many Things which he would otherwise have written, but has not thought it necessary, as they can inform him of every thing by Word of Mouth, and are more worthy of Credit than any-body else. As many of the persecuted Patriarch's Friends had privately withdrawn from *Constantinople* to *Rome*, *Photius*, to prejudice the Pope against them, and prevent by that means his being informed of the true State of Affairs in the East, closes his Letter with entreating him not to receive any who shall come from thence without Letters of Recommendation, since many, under Colour of Piety and Religion, resort to *Rome*, only to avoid the Penance or the Punishment that is due to their Crimes. The Direction of *Photius's* Letter was, *To our most holy Brother and Fellow-Minister Nicholas, Pope of Old Rome, Photius Bishop of Constantinople, New Rome* <sup>i</sup>.

The Pope  
protests  
against the  
Conduct of  
his Legates.

By these Letters, and still more by the Acts of the Council, the Pope understood, that *Ignatius* had been deposed, and *Photius* substituted in his room; that his Legates had agreed to the Deposition of the one, and the Intrusion of the other; that they had acknowledged *Photius*, and communicated with him as duly elected, and lawful Patriarch. In order therefore to shew to all the World, and in the most public Manner, his Disapprobation of their Conduct, he immediately assembled the whole *Roman* Church, and solemnly declared, in the Presence of *Leo* the Imperial Embassador, that his Legates had acted contrary to their Instructions; that they were not authorized to confirm the Deposition of *Ignatius*, and the Election of *Photius*; and that he never had consented, that he never would consent, to the one or the other <sup>k</sup>.

His Letter  
to the Empe-  
sar.

Upon the breaking up of the Council, the Pope wrote Two Letters in Answer to those he had received from the Emperor and from *Photius*, and delivered them to *Leo*, who was upon the Point of returning to *Constantinople*. In his Letter to the Emperor, he protests against the Proceedings of his Legates, as well as of the Council at which they assisted; ascribes their Prevarication to the

<sup>i</sup> Baron. ad ann. 861. n. 9, & seq.      <sup>k</sup> Nicul. ep. 7. 20. 18.

cruel Treatment they met with, and the Violence that was offered them; and wonders that the Emperor should now charge *Ignatius* with having procured the Patriarchal Dignity by unlawful and indirect Means, when he has in his Hands Letters from him to his Predecessor *Leo*, and to himself, wherein he owns him to have been regularly elected, and lawfully ordained. As to his Council having been composed of as many Bishops as was that of *Nice*, which the Emperor had boasted of in his Letter, the Pope tells him, that, as they had all departed from the Regulations of that great and venerable Assembly, it matters little whether they equalled, or even exceeded it in Number; nay, that their Number only served to add to their Guilt<sup>1</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 862.

The Pope, in his Letter to *Photius*, takes it for granted, that, by the Words, *Thou art Peter, &c.* the Primacy was conferred upon St. *Peter*, and upon all who should succeed him in the See he had founded at *Rome*; and that it is therefore incumbent upon him, as the Successor of that Apostle, as presiding in the Church that is the First and the Head of all Churches, to see that the Institutions of the Fathers, and the Laws they have wisely enacted, be punctually complied with by all other Churches, as well as his own. He then comes to the Canon forbidding any to be raised to the Episcopal Throne, who have not passed through the inferior Degrees of the Church<sup>m</sup>; reproaches *Photius* with a Breach of that Canon, in presuming to take upon him the Episcopal Dignity while yet a Layman. And in Answer to the Instances he had alleged in favour of his Ordination, the Pope pretends *Nectarius* to have been raised to the Patriarchal See while he was yet a Layman, because not one Ecclesiastic could be found at that time in the whole Body of the *Constantinopolitan* Clergy quite free from Heresy; and adds, that in such Cases, Cases of Necessity, the Canon may and ought to be dispensed with. As to the Promotion of *Tarasius*, he quotes the Words of his Predecessor *Hadrian*, disapproving and censuring it as irregular; but nevertheless conniving at it, in Consideration of *Tarasius's* known Zeal for Images. The Election of *Ambrose* he ascribes to a Miracle, and tells the following Tale; viz. that the Bees swarmed in his Mouth while he was an Infant, and asleep in his Cradle; that from the Cradle they flew up into the Air quite out of Sight; that from thence his Father prognosticated the Child

And to Pho-  
tius.

<sup>1</sup> Nicol. ep. 5.    <sup>m</sup> Concil. Sardic. Can. 10.

Year of  
Christ 862.

would one Day attain to some very high Dignity; and that he was accordingly chosen, many Years afterwards, while yet a Catechumen, to succeed *Auxentius* the *Arian* Bishop in the See of *Milan*, and miraculously chosen, an Infant, that happened to be present at the Election, crying out aloud, while the People were divided in their Suffrages, *Ambrose is our Bishop*, and the whole Multitude joining in the Cry as a Voice from Heaven (L). Thus, says the Pope, were *Nectarius*, *Tarasius*, and *Ambrose*, preferred from the State of Laymen to the Episcopal Dignity. But what can you plead in Defence of your Promotion, you who have not only been unlawfully ordained, but have intruded yourself into the See of another still living? *Photius* had said in his Letter, that the Canon of the Council of *Sardica*, and the Decrees of the Popes, prohibiting the Ordination of Laymen, had never been received by the Church of *Constantinople*. In Answer to that, the Pope tells him in plain Terms, that he cannot believe him, as the Council was held in the East, and is received by the whole Church, as well as the Decrees of the Apostolic See, by whose Authority all Councils are confirmed. He then reproaches him with his unprecedented Severity, that of a Tyrant rather than a Father, in persecuting *Ignatius*, and arbitrarily deposing Bishops and Archbishops, for no other Reason but because they adhered to him; complains of the cruel Treatment his Legates had met with, and the Violence that was offered them; declares that he cannot, and never will, acknowledge any other for lawful Bishop of *Constantinople*, till he is satisfied that *Ignatius* has been lawfully deposed; and closes his Letter with assuring *Photius*, that he is not influenced therein by Envy, Hatred, or any Ill-will he bears him, but only by Zeal for the Observance of the Canons, of the Traditions of the Fathers, and the Decrees of the Apostolic

(L) The Truth of it is: *Ambrose* was Prætor at *Milan* when the Bishop of the Place died; and the whole City being in an Uproar on account of the Disagreement among the Inhabitants about the Election of a new Bishop, *Ambrose*, on whom it was incumbent, as Prætor, to appease the Tumult, repairing to the Place where the Electors were met, exhorted them to Unity and Concord with so elegant and so affect-

ing a Speech, that, laying aside their Dispute, they all cried out with one Voice, *We will have Ambrose for our Bishop*. This sudden and unexpected Agreement the Emperor looked upon as miraculous; and therefore ordered him immediately to be baptized, for he was yet a Catechumen, and a few Days after to be ordained Bishop. Thus *Paulinus* (3), *Ruffinus* (4), *Theodoret* (5), *Socrates* (6), and *Sozomen* (7).

(3) Paulin. vit. Ambros.  
(6) Socrat. l. iv. c. 30.

(4) Ruffin. l. ii. c. 11.  
(7) Sozom. l. vi. c. 24.

(5) Theod. l. iv. c. 6.

See. The Pope, to shew that he looked upon *Photius* only as a Layman, gave him no other Title in the Direction of his Letter but that of a most prudent Man; *Nicolaus Episcopus servus servorum Dei prudentissimo viro Photio* <sup>m.</sup> Year of  
Christ 862.

At the same time, the Pope wrote a circulatory Letter to all the Faithful in the East, to acquaint them with the Deposition of *Ignatius*, the Intrusion of *Photius*, and the Prevarication of his Legates <sup>His Letter to the Faithful in the East.</sup> consenting thereunto, contrary to the Instructions he had given them; and addressing himself, in the Close of his Letter, to the Three Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, to the Metropolitans and other Bishops in those Parts, he declares, that it is the fixed Resolution of the Apostolic See to reinstate the venerable Patriarch *Ignatius* in his former Dignity, and drive out the most wicked *Photius*, who has usurped it in Defiance of the Canons; and he enjoins and commands them, by virtue of his Apostolic Authority, to think as he does with respect to the Expulsion of *Photius*, and Restoration of *Ignatius*, and to cause his Letter to be published in their respective Dioceses, that it may be known to all <sup>n.</sup> This Letter, as well as that to *Photius*, is dated the 18th of *March* of the present Year 862, and the Letter to the Emperor the 19th of the same Month.

About this Time, one *Eustratius* arriving at *Constantinople* in the Habit of a Monk, went strait to the Patriarchal Palace; and giving out that he came from *Rome*, publicly delivered Two Letters to *Photius*, the one from *Ignatius*, as he pretended, to the Pope, the other from the Pope to *Photius*. *Ignatius*, in the Letter that was supposed to have been written by him, gave the Pope a minute Account of the Persecution he had suffered, and painted the Emperor in the blackest Colours. That Letter, *Eustratius* said, the Pope would not receive, and he had therefore brought it back. The Pope, in his Letter, was made to apologize for the Misunderstanding that had hitherto subsisted between him and *Photius*, and to express an earnest Desire not only of communicating with him, but establishing a lasting Peace and Harmony between the Two Sees. These Letters *Photius* immediately communicated to the Emperor, and to *Bardas*, in order to incense them anew against *Ignatius*, whom they had suffered, ever since the Time of the Earthquake, to live undisturbed in a Monastery. He was accordingly taken into Custody, and strictly guarded; but *Eustratius* pretending, upon his Examination, the Contrivance of Photius to compass the Ruin of Ignatius.

<sup>m</sup> Nicol. ep. 6.<sup>n</sup> Nicol. ep. 4.

Year of  
Christ 862.

Letter for the Pope to have been delivered to him by one *Cyprian*, a Disciple, as he said, of *Ignatius*, and no such Person being anywhere found after the most diligent Inquiries, the Imposture was discovered, and *Eustratius* most severely whipt by an Order from *Bardas*, in spite of the most pressing Instances of *Photius* in his favour. These Letters are both supposed to have been forged by *Photius* himself, hoping that the Emperor, provoked at the odious Picture that was drawn of him in the Letter to the Pope, would, in the Transport of his Wrath, order the supposed Writer to be put to Death without further Inquiry. But so wicked an Attempt raised in all Men, says *Nicetas*, the greatest Indignation against *Photius*, and a general Compassion for *Ignatius*.

Lotharius,  
King of Lor-  
raine, charges  
his Wife  
Theutberga  
with Incest.

An Affair of far greater Moment in the West than the Quarrel between *Ignatius* and *Photius* about the See of *Constantinople* in the East, engaged at the same time the Attention of the Pope; and he exerted his Authority with no less Steadiness in the one than he did in the other: *Lotharius* King of *Lorraine*, or *Austrasia* (M), Son of the late Emperor of that Name, and Brother to the present Emperor *Lewis*, had married *Theutberga*, Sister to *Hubert* Duke of *Burgundy*; but wanting to divorce her, and to marry *Waldrada* one of his Mistresses in her room, he accused her of Incest with her Brother. The Queen denied the Charge in an Assembly of Bishops and all the chief Lords of the Kingdom, whom the King had called together to examine into that Affair; nay, and to convince them of her Innocence, underwent with their Consent, if not by their Command, the Trial, or, as it is called, Ordeal, by hot Water. She was excused, in Consideration of her Rank and her Sex, from undergoing that Trial in Person; but the Man, whom she chose to act in her room, received not the least Hurt from the scalding Water; and the Queen was thereupon declared innocent by the whole Assembly, was by the King recalled to Court (for he had caused her to be shut up in a Monastery), and restored to all the Prerogatives of her Royal Dignity. But, notwithstanding so convincing a Proof of the Queen's Innocence, *Waldrada* still engrossed the King's Affection, and his

She is cleared,  
and re-  
called to  
Court;

• Nicef. in vit. Ignat. P Hincmar. de divort. Loth. & Theutb. Annal. Bertin.

(M) In the Division of the *French* Empire made by the Emperor *Lotharius* amongst his Children, the ancient Kingdom of *Austrasia* was allotted to *Lotharius* his Second Son, with the Addition of seve-

ral Provinces; and it was thenceforth called in *Latin* *Lotharingia*, from its new King *Lotharius*; and from *Lotharingia* they derive the Name of *Lorrains*.

Passion

Passion for her allowed the unhappy *Theutberga* but a very short Respite from her Troubles; for *Lotharius*, determined at all Events to part with her, in order to make room for *Waldrada*, appointed, soon after the above-mentioned Trial, some of the chief Bishops, of his Kingdom to meet at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and there arraigning the Queen anew of Incest, prevailed upon them to declare, that he could not in Conscience live with her as his Wife, though not a single Evidence was produced in Support of the Charge. This Point being gained, the King assembled the same Year, 860, another Council in the same Place; and having, with terrible Menaces, obliged the Queen to own herself, in their Presence, guilty of the Crime she was charged with, he applied to the Bishops for Leave to marry again, since they had declared, that it was not lawful for him to cohabit with *Theutberga* as his Wife <sup>1</sup>. I do not find, that, in this Council, the Bishops came to any Determination with respect to the King's Request: They only ordained, that *Theutberga*, convicted by her own Confession, should do public Penance for her Crime. But she escaped into *France* to her Brother *Hubert*, who had taken Refuge there, and was well received by the King, *Charles the Bald*, Uncle to *Lotharius* <sup>2</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 862.

but after-  
wards forced  
to own herself  
guilty.

Two Years after, that is, in 862, a Third Council was held at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, at which were present *Gonthier* Archbishop of *Cologne*, *Teutgaud* Archbishop of *Treves*, and the Bishops of *Metz*, of *Verdun*, of *Tongres*, of *Utrecht*, and *Strasburgh*; and the time-serving Bishops declared all to a Man, that the King might lawfully dismiss *Theutberga*, and marry another in her room; nay, and alleged several Passages out of the Fathers, and some Canons of the Church, to justify the Declaration they had made. We are told, that, in this Affair, the Archbishop of *Treves*, and the other Bishops, were misled and imposed upon by the Archbishop of *Cologne*, a Man of great Authority among them, whose Niece the King had promised to marry, provided he could get his Marriage with *Theutberga* declared null by a Council <sup>3</sup>. The Queen, on her Arrival in *France*, had written to the Pope, to acquaint him with the base Treatment she had met with from the King, and the Bishops of his Kingdom, and at the same time to implore his Protection. Of this the Bishops were aware, and had therefore dispatched *Teutgaud* of *Treves*, and *Hatto* of *Verdun*, to entreat the Pope, in the King's Name and their own,

Lotharius  
allowed by a  
Council to put  
away Theut-  
berga, and  
marry an-  
other.

<sup>1</sup> Annal Bertin.    <sup>2</sup> Ibidem.    <sup>3</sup> Annal Metens.



Year of  
Christ 862.

The King ac-  
quaints the  
Pope with  
the Decision  
of the Coun-  
cil,

and marries  
Waldrada,

Count Boso  
complains to  
the Pope of  
Lotharius  
for harbour-  
ing his Wife,  
who had  
eloped from  
him,

Letters writ-  
ten by the  
Pope on that  
Occasion.

not to give ear to, nor suffer himself to be prejudiced by, the false Reports and Misrepresentations of their Enemies, since, in the Affair of *Theutberga*, they had proceeded upon her own Confession, and had hitherto only ordered her to do public Penance for her Sin, which she had avoided by quitting the Kingdom, and flying into *France*. The Pope had heard all they said with great Attention; but returned them no other Answer than *that it was an Affair of great Importance, and ought to be thoroughly examined*: The King therefore, upon the breaking up of the last Council, sent Two Counts to *Rome*, to acquaint the Pope with the Decision of that Assembly, to beg his Holiness to confirm it, and assure him, that he should wait for, and acquiesce in, the Judgment of the Apostolic Sec. To them the Pope returned the same Answer he had given to the Bishops; adding, that he should send Legates to inform themselves of the Whole upon the Spot; and entreating the King, in the mean time, not to act over-hastily in an Affair of such Moment and Concern. From this Answer, and from the Pope's refusing to confirm the Sentence of the Council, the King concluded, that his Holiness was by no means inclined to consent to his Marriage; and therefore, suffering his Passion to prevail over all other Regards, he married *Waldrada* publicly soon after the Return of the Two Counts from *Rome*, gave her the Title of Queen, and built her a stately Palace for her Habitation<sup>t</sup>.

In the mean time came to *Rome* Count *Boso*, to complain to the Pope of *Lotharius*, for harbouring in his Dominions his Wife *Ingeltrude*, the Daughter of Count *Matfrid*, who, eloping from him with her Adulterer, had taken Refuge in the Kingdom of *Lorraine*, and there, to the great Disgrace of her own Family and her Husband's, led the Life of a common Prostitute. The Count had, for the Space of Seven Years, frequently invited her to return to her Duty, with the Promise of an unlimited Pardon, and a kind Reception; had applied to *Lotharius*, entreating him not to countenance her in her Lewdness, but to drive her from his Dominions, and had omitted nothing in his Power to reclaim her. But finding that no Regard was paid by her to his Offers, nor by the King to his pressing and repeated Instances, he resolved in the end to apply to the Pope, and undertook for that Purpose a Journey to *Rome*. The Pope, having heard his Complaint, wrote, before the Count left *Rome*, to

<sup>t</sup> Nicol. ep. 38. Annal. Bertin.

the *French* Bishops, to the Kings, and to *Lotharius* himself. In his Letter to the Bishops, he required them to excommunicate *Ingeltrude*, if she did not forthwith return to her Husband : In his Letter to the Kings, *viz.* *Charles* King of *France*, *Lewis* King of *Germany*, and *Charles* King of *Provence*, he exhorted them to interpose their good Offices in favour of *Boso*, and prevail upon *Lotharius*, if by any means they could, to banish the noble *Prostitute*, as the Pope styles her, out of his Dominions, and not to admit her into theirs, that she might thus be obliged to throw herself at her Husband's Feet, who was ready to receive and forgive her. In his Letter to *Lotharius*, he threatened him with the Censures of the Church, if he continued to countenance *Ingeltrude* in her Wickedness, or suffered her to remain any longer in his Kingdom <sup>u</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 862.

These Letters the Pope delivered to the Count himself; and taking the Affair of *Lotharius* into serious Consideration upon his Departure, he thought it a Matter of too great Importance to be finally determined by the Bishops of the Kingdom of *Lorraine* only. Of the same Opinion were *Hincmar* and *Ado*, the one Archbishop of *Reims*, the other of *Vienne*; and the Proceedings of the Three Councils held at *Aix-la-Chapelle* were censured by the other *Gallican* Bishops, as repugnant to the Canons, and the Practice of the Church, and only calculated to gratify the Passion of their Sovereign, which it was their Duty to check and restrain. The Pope therefore, paying no kind of Regard to the Decisions of those Councils, resolved to cause the Affair to be examined anew in an Assembly of all the Bishops of *France* and *Germany*, and to send Legates, since both Parties had appealed to him as an Arbitrator, to assist at that Assembly in his Name. The City of *Metz* was the Place appointed for the Meeting of the Council; and the Pope chose *Rodoald* Bishop of *Porto*, and *John* Bishop of *Ficocla* in *Romania*, to preside at it, with the Character of his Legates *a latere* (N). The Pope charged them with Letters to *Lotharius*, to *Lewis* King of *Germany*, to *Charles* King of *France*, his Uncles, to *Charles* King of *Provence*, his Brother, desiring them to send Two Bishops each to the Council,

Council appointed to meet at Metz, to determine the Affair of Lotharius.

The Pope sends Legates to assist at it.

<sup>u</sup> Apud Baron. ad ann. 862. n. 38.

(N) As the Bishop of *Porto* had lately betrayed his Trust in the East, it is not a little surprising that the Pope should have employed him on the present Occasion,

since he could no longer doubt of his Misconduct there, though he had not yet received any authentic Proofs of it.

with

Year of  
Christ 862.

Letters he  
wrote on that  
Occasion.

with a circulatory Letter to all the Bishops of *France* and *Germany*, and with one to the Bishops who should be present at the Council <sup>u</sup>. In his Letter to *Lotharius*, he recommends his Legates to him; tells him, that, in Compliance with his Desire, he would have sent them sooner, had he not been diverted from it by Affairs of the utmost Importance; desires that Two Bishops from the Kingdom of *Lewis* King of *Germany*, Two from that of *Charles* King of *France*, and Two from the Kingdom of *Charles* King of *Provence*, may be allowed to assist at the Council; and wishes, that, upon the Return of his Legates, he may have Occasion to rejoice, to return Thanks to the Almighty, and to send to the King his Apostolic Benediction. The Pope, in his Letter to the Bishops, informs them, that *Theutberga*, whom *Lotharius* had put away to marry another in her room, had applied to him, desiring that her Cause might be judged by the Apostolic See; and that he had thereupon sent Two Legates to judge it, jointly with them, in a Council that was to meet at *Metz*; requires them to repair to the Council, in order to assist his Legates with their Advice; tells them, that, when the said Legates were upon the Point of setting out from *Rome*, he had learned that *Lotharius* had dismissed *Theutberga*, and married another Woman, without waiting for the Judgment of the Apostolic See, to which he had appealed, and promised to submit; and he therefore desires, that the King may be summoned to appear, and plead his Cause in Person before them and his Legates, on Pain of being cut off by the Apostolic See from the Communion of the Faithful <sup>w</sup>. In the Letter that was addressed to the Bishops of the Council, and was to be read to them at their First Meeting, the Pope exhorted them to judge justly, without Respect of Persons; and required them to transmit to him the Acts of the Council, in order to their being confirmed by the Apostolic See, if in every Respect agreeable, or corrected, if any-way repugnant to the Laws of Justice and the Rules of the Church <sup>x</sup>.

The Pope mediates a Reconciliation between Charles of France and Baldwin Count of Flanders.

At the same time the Pope wrote, and sent by his Legates, Two Letters concerning a very different Affair; the one to *Charles the Bald*, the other to *Hermentrude* his Queen: *Judith*, their Daughter, had married *Ethelwulph* King of the *West Saxons*, as has been related above <sup>y</sup>; and she married, upon his Death, *Ethelbald*, the

<sup>u</sup> Nicol. ep. 17, 18, 19. p. 255.

<sup>w</sup> Nicol. ep. 22.

<sup>x</sup> Nicol. ep. 23.

<sup>y</sup> See above,

deceased

deceased King's eldest Son. But he dying soon after that incestuous Marriage, she returned to *France*, and, by her Father's Appointment, lived at *Senlis*, under the Direction of the Bishop of the Place, to whose Care the King had recommended her, as she was yet very young. During her Stay there, *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders*, a Man of great Distinction, but the King's Vassal, fell passionately in Love with her, and she with him; but being both sensible that the King would never be brought to agree to their Marriage, *Baldwin*, with her Consent, and the Consent of her Brother *Lewis* Duke of *Maine*, carried her off; and they fled for Refuge to the Kingdom of *Lotharius*. *Charles*, highly provoked at such an Insult offered him by One of his own Subjects, had Recourse to the Bishops; and having assembled those of his Kingdom, he prevailed upon them to thunder out the Sentence of Excommunication against *Judith* as well as *Baldwin*, agreeably to the Decree of Pope *Gregory the Great*, excommunicating *all who should steal Widows, and all who should communicate with them*<sup>2</sup>. *Baldwin*, struck with Terror at this Sentence, undertook a Journey to *Rome*; and there, throwing himself at the Pope's Feet, owned his Crime, begged his Holiness to absolve him from the Excommunication, and to interpose his good Offices with the King in his behalf. The Pope did not think it advisable to absolve him from the Excommunication till the King was reconciled to him, but readily undertook to mediate a Reconciliation; and wrote accordingly the above-mentioned Letters to *Charles* and *Hermetrude*, warmly recommending to both the penitent Count, who, he apprehended, might call in the *Normans*, if driven to Despair, and, jointly with them, make War upon *France*. His Mediation had the wished-for Effect; *Baldwin* and *Judith* were received by the King into Favour; the Marriage was solemnized in due Form at *Auxerre*; and the Count reinstated in the Government of *Flanders*, with the Title of *Count of the Kingdom*; by virtue of which he was to defend the Kingdom of *France* against the *Normans*, or, as the Pope calls them, *Northmans*, and all the Northern Barbarians<sup>2</sup>.

Besides these Letters, the Pope delivered to his Legates their Instructions in Writing, called, in the Language of those Days, *Com-* Instructions given to the Legates who were to assist at the Council *monitorium*, being calculated to admonish or put them in mind of

<sup>2</sup> Annal. Bertin. l. ii. Nicol. ep. 20, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Annal. Bertin. Flodoard. l. iii. c. 12. Meyer. annal. Fland. cil of Metz.

Year of  
Christ 862.

the principal Heads of their Charge. As *Lotharius* pretended to have been married to *Waldrada* by the late Emperor his Father, while he was yet very young, and consequently that he could not, in Conscience, cohabit with *Theutberga* as his Wife, the Legates were directed, first of all, to examine with great Care into the Truth of the Fact; to cause the Marriage Treaty to be produced, as well as the Witnesses who were present; to inquire why the King put her away to marry the Daughter of *Boso*, that is, *Theutberga*, in her room; and not to proceed till these Points were all cleared up to their intire Satisfaction. If, upon Examination, the King's Marriage with *Waldrada* was found to be a mere Invention or Pretence, the Legates were, in that Case, to come to the Charge brought against *Theutberga*: And here the Pope informed them, that she had implored Three different times the Protection of the Apostolic See against the Violence that was offered her; that she had indeed confessed the Crime she was charged with to some Bishops of the Kingdom of *Lorraine*; but had sent a Person to *Rome* before she made that Confession, to complain of the violent Means that were used to extort from her the Confession of a Crime which she had never committed, and at the same time to declare, in her Name, that if she should own that, or any other Crime, it was not because she was guilty, but to save her Life, that she owned it. The Pope therefore charged the Legates to call *Theutberga* to the Council, that she might plead her Cause in Person before them; and to reverse the Sentence that had been pronounced against her at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, if she retracted the Confession that had given Occasion to it, as not voluntary, but extorted by Force, or by Menaces <sup>b</sup>.

The Legate  
Zachary de-  
posed in a  
Council, for  
consenting to  
the Deposi-  
tion of *Ignatius*.

Year of  
Christ 863.

With these Instructions the Legates set out for *Metz*, where the Council was to meet; and in the mean time the Monk *Theognostus*, of whom I have spoken above, arrived at *Rome*, with the Appeal of *Ignatius*, containing an Account of his Deposition, of the Intrusion of *Photius*, and the Prevarication of the Legates *Rodoald* and *Zachary*. The Pope, in reading it, was not more affected with the Sufferings of *Ignatius*, which were there minutely described, than provoked at the Conduct of his Legates, who, instead of complying with, had acted in direct Opposition to, the Instructions he had given them, and even endeavoured, after their Return, to impose upon him, by mis-

<sup>b</sup> Ivo, part. 8. c. 334. Gratian. quæst. 2. c. Lotharius, apud Baron. ad ann. 862. n. 61—65.

representing to him the whole Affair. In order therefore to clear the Apostolic See from the Imputation of having been any-ways accessory to such irregular and unjust Proceedings, and at the same time to afford to the persecuted Patriarch all the Comfort and Relief in his Power, he resolved to exert his whole Authority in his Defence, and to punish, in a most exemplary Manner, the Prevarication of the Legates. With that View he assembled, soon after the Arrival of *Theognostus*, a numerous Council of the Western Bishops in *Rome*, who met first in the *Vatican*, but were soon obliged, by the Cold, to adjourn from thence to the *Lateran*. In this Council were read, in the First place, the Acts of that which *Photius* had held at *Constantinople*, the Emperor's Letters to the Pope, and, no doubt, the Act of the deposed Patriarch's Appeal to the Apostolic See, all translated from the *Greek* into *Latin*. In the next place, *Zachary* was brought before the Council, was strictly examined, and being convicted, by his own Confession, of having consented to the Deposition of *Ignatius*, and acknowledged *Photius*, he was by the Council excommunicated and deposed. The Judging of *Rodoald*, his Fellow-legate and Accomplice, sent lately into *France*, was put off till his Return to *Rome* and the Meeting of another Council.

In the same Council, the following Sentence was pronounced by the Pope against *Photius*, with the unanimous Consent of all the Bishops who composed it : “ Whereas *Photius*, raised from a secular and military Occupation to the Episcopal Dignity, and ordained by “ *Gregory* of *Syracuse*, long since condemned, has, in the Life-time of “ our Brother *Ignatius*, Patriarch of the holy Church of *Constantinople*, “ intruded himself into his See, and entered the Sheepfold not by the “ Door, but like a Thief and a Robber ; has communicated with those “ whom Pope *Benedict* our Predecessor had excommunicated and de- “ posed ; has presumed to assemble a Council of his Followers, all “ deposed and condemned, excommunicated and anathematized, and “ to condemn, anathematize, and depose, jointly with them, our Fel- “ low-minister the Patriarch *Ignatius* ; has, in Defiance of the Law of “ Nations, offered Violence to the Legates of the Apostolic See, and “ forced them to act contrary to the Orders they had received ; has sent “ into Exile the Bishops who would not communicate with him, and “ appointed such only in their room as were Partakers with him in his “ Wickedness ; has persecuted, and continues to persecute, with un-

Year of  
Christ 863.

Sentence pro-  
nounced in  
that Council  
against Pho-  
tius.

Year of  
Christ 863.

“heard-of Barbarity, the holy Patriarch *Ignatius*, and all who stand up in Defence of his Innocence, and the Laws of the Church; the said *Photius* guilty of these and such-like Enormities, is, by the Authority of Almighty God, of the blessed Princes of the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, of all the Saints, of the Six General Councils, and the Judgment which the Holy Ghost pronounces by us, divested of the Priesthood, and all sacerdotal Honours: So that if, after this Decree (issued by the Council with one Consent, and dictated, as we believe, by the Holy Ghost) comes to his Knowledge, he shall attempt to preside in the See of *Constantinople*, or shall any-ways disturb *Ignatius* in the Government of the Church committed to his Care, or presume to perform any Function of the sacred Ministry, he shall never again be admitted to Communion, but remain, with all who shall communicate with him, or support him, anathematized, and excluded from partaking of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, except at the Point of Death (A).”

And Gre-  
gory of Sy-  
racuse.

The like Sentence was pronounced against *Gregory of Syracuse*, for having presumed to ordain *Photius*, and perform several other Functions of the Episcopal Office, after he had been divested of the Episcopal Dignity, and all the Power attending it; and an Anathema was denounced against him, if he thenceforth took upon him to exercise any ecclesiastical Function whatever (B), if he raised new Disturbances against *Ignatius*, or attempted to divert any from communicating with him as their lawful Bishop. By a Third Sentence, all were excommunicated and degraded, whom *Photius* the *Neophyte*, as the Pope calls him by way of Contempt, and Ufurper of the Patriarchal See of *Constantinople*, had preferred to any Order in the Church. The Pope then, proceeding to the Restoration of *Ignatius*,

(A) That the Pope's excommunicating and deposing the Bishop of *Constantinople*, or any other Bishop, is no Argument of his Supremacy, has been shewn elsewhere, on Occasion of the Excommunication and Deposition of *Acacius* of *Constantinople* by Pope *Felix*, the Second of that Name (1).

(B) *Excommunication* and *Anathema* were Two different Things: An excommunicated Person was excluded from partaking of the Eucharist and the Prayers of the Faithful, and besides suspended, if an Ecclesiastic, from all ecclesiastical Functions; but he still continued a Member of the

Church, and might assist at the Service of the Catechumens, that is, at the Psalmody, at the Reading of the Scriptures, and the Sermons. But such as were anathematized, were totally expelled the Church, and debarred from all Communion with the Faithful, who were not even allowed to receive them into their Houses, to eat at the same Table, or converse familiarly with them. From them no Offerings or Oblations were received; nor were they buried, tho' absolved before Death, with the same Rites as all other Christians were.

(1) See Vol. II. p. 205, 206. 220.

*Ignatius*, pronounced the following Sentence, in the Name of the Council and his own :

Year of  
Christ 863.

“ As our most reverend and most holy Brother *Ignatius*, Patriarch  
 “ of the holy Church of *Constantinople*, has been driven with Violence  
 “ from his See by the Emperor ; has been anathematized by the Usur-  
 “ per *Photius* and his Accomplices, whom *Benedict* of holy Memory,  
 “ our Predecessor, had long since excommunicated ; and has been strip-  
 “ ped of the Ensigns of his Dignity by the Legates of the Apostolic  
 “ See, contrary to our express Orders ; we declare, by the Authority  
 “ of the supreme Judge our Lord Jesus Christ, that he has never been  
 “ anathematized or deposed ; since they, who judged and condemned  
 “ him, had received no such Power from the Apostolic See : We there-  
 “ fore, by virtue of the Power conferred by our Lord upon us in St.  
 “ *Peter*, by the Authority of the Canons, and the Decrees of our Pre-  
 “ decessors, restore our said Brother *Ignatius* to his former Dignity,  
 “ to his See, to the Rank of Patriarch, and to all the Badges of his  
 “ Office ; and whoever, after the Publication of this our Decree, shall  
 “ dare to molest or disturb him in the Exercise of his Ministry, shall  
 “ separate himself from his Communion, or presume to judge him  
 “ anew, without the previous Consent of the Apostolic See, shall be  
 “ deposed, if he is a Clerk, and condemned, with the Traitor *Judas*,  
 “ to eternal Punishment : If he is a Layman (be who he will), he shall  
 “ be excommunicated, accursed, and sentenced by the eternal Judge,  
 “ unless he repents, to the same Punishment As for the Bishops and  
 “ Clerks, of what Order soever, or Degree, who have been banished  
 “ or deposed on Occasion of the unjust Expulsion of *Ignatius*, we com-  
 “ mand them to be recalled, and restored to their Sees and respective  
 “ Ranks ; and anathematize all who shall presume to oppose the Execu-  
 “ tion of this our Decree. If any Crime is laid to their Charge, let them  
 “ be first restored, and then judged ; and by none will we suffer them to  
 “ be judged but by us, and our See, being authorized therein by the Ca-  
 “ nons.” Lastly, a Decree was issued by the Council, confirming what  
 “ had been decreed by the Popes, and other Councils, concerning the  
 “ Images of our Saviour, of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, of all the Saints,  
 “ whose Life and Conversation had been pleasing to God, from the  
 “ Time of *Abel* to the present ; and anathematizing *John of Constan-*  
 “ *tinople*, with his Followers, teaching that Images ought to be  
 “ broken, and trampled under foot c. To these the Pope added Two

Sentence in  
favour of  
*Ignatius*.

The Use and  
Worship of  
Images con-  
firmed, and  
the Theopas-  
chites con-  
demned.



Year of  
Christ 863.

Decrees of a Council he had held in *Rome* the preceding Year; the one declaring against the *Theoaschites*, whose Heresy began, it seems, to spring up anew, that Christ had suffered in his Humanity, and not in his Divinity, as they pretended; the other anathematizing all who should maintain, teach, or propagate the opposite Doctrine<sup>d</sup>. How the Pope's thundering Edicts were received at *Constantinople*, we shall see in the Sequel.

Lotharius  
gains over the  
Pope's Le-  
gates.

This Council was held in the Month of *March* of the present Year, as is said by the Pope in a Letter he wrote to *Ado* Archbishop of *Vienne*, when he sent him the Pall<sup>e</sup>; and in *June* following, another was convened likewise in *Rome*, to examine the Acts of the Council of *Metz* relating to the Divorce of *Lotharius* and *Theutberga*, an Affair that engaged the Attention of the Pope no less than that of *Ignatius*. He had appointed a Council to assemble at *Metz*, which was to consist, as has been related above, not of the Bishops of the Kingdom of *Lorraine* only, who were justly suspected of Partiality for their Prince, but of all the Bishops of *France* and *Germany*; and both Parties, *Theutberga* as well as *Lotharius*, were to plead their Cause in Person before them and the Legates; but the final Decision of the Point in Dispute, the Lawfulness of the Divorce, was to be referred to the Judgment of the Apostolic See. With these Instructions the Two Legates, *Rodoald* and *John*, set out from *Rome*; and repairing, in the First place, in Compliance with their Orders, to the Court of *Lorraine*, they communicated them there to the King. *Lotharius* well knew, that his whole Conduct in this Affair had given great Offence to all the *Gallican* Bishops, except those of his own Kingdom; that they all loudly exclaimed against the Decision of the Council of *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and consequently that they would oblige him to dismiss *Waldrada*, and take *Theutberga* again to his Bed. As for his former Marriage with *Waldrada*, and the Crime he laid to the Charge of the Queen, he was sensible that neither would stand the Test of an impartial and strict Examination: The only possible Means, therefore, that occurred to him of surmounting all Difficulties, and carrying his Point, was to prevent any other Bishops from assisting at the Council but his own, whose Complaisance he had already experienced in Three different Councils. He applied accordingly to the Legates, and, with rich Presents, and immense Sums of Money, *immensis opibus*,

<sup>d</sup> Nicol. *ibid.*    <sup>e</sup> Bibl. Floriac. p. 53.

(says

Year of  
Christ 863.

(says *Regino*) prevailed upon them to suppress the Pope's Letters to the *French* Kings, desiring them to send each Two Bishops to the Council; and likewise the circulatory Letter to all the *Gallican* and *German* Bishops: So that the Council only consisted of the Bishops of *Lorraine*; and they indeed were all present, except *Hungarius* of *Utrecht*, who was prevented by Sickness from attending with the rest. By the Instructions given to the Legates, the Queen was to be admitted to the Council, was to plead her Cause in Person before them, and if she denied the Crime laid to her Charge, and retracted her Confession, they were to revoke the Sentence pronounced by former Councils against her. But the Legates, departing in every thing from their Instructions, did not so much as acquaint the Queen with the Meeting of the Council, nor did they at all inquire, as they were strictly charged to do, into the pretended Marriage of *Lotharius* and *Waldrada*; but having heard some suborned Witnesses against *Theutberga*, and caused the Acts of the Council of *Aix-la-Chapelle* to be read to them, they confirmed those Acts, and declared *Waldrada* to be *the lawful Wife of the most glorious and religious King Lotharius*. One of the Bishops, whose Name is not recorded, in signing that Decree, added, that *nothing ought to be finally determined till it was submitted to the Judgment of the Pope*. But these Words were cancelled by the Archbishop of *Cologne*, and the Bishop's Name only left, as if he had subscribed without any Restriction, as well as the rest <sup>d</sup>.

As the Legates, and the other Bishops of the Council, were conscious to themselves of the Irregularity and Injustice of their Proceedings, it was agreed among them, that the Two Archbishops should repair to *Rome* in Person, should deliver the Acts of the Council to the Pope, and at the same time represent the Affair to his Holiness, by Word of Mouth, in the most favourable Light. This Province the Two Prelates readily undertook; and being admitted to the Pope's Presence as soon as they arrived in *Rome*, they delivered the Acts into his Hands, telling him, that they had neither done more nor less than what was there contained. As, before their Arrival, the Pope had been informed by several Persons come to *Rome*, as well as by Letters, probably from the *Gallican* and *German* Bishops, of every thing that had passed at *Metz*, he asked them, Whether they would stand to what they had done? They answered, They

<sup>d</sup> Nicol. ep. 58. Annal. Bertin.

would

Year of  
Christ 863.

would not contradict with their Lips what they had signed with their Hands. The Pope said no more; but, dismissing them, caused the Acts they had brought to be read in a Council that was then sitting in the *Lateran* Palace; and they were found so full of profane and unheard-of Propositions, says the Bibliothecarian, that the Bishops of that Assembly could not help looking upon those of *Metz* as Men seized with a kind of Phrenzy. The Judgment, therefore, which they had given, was, with one Consent, annulled by the Pope, and all the Bishops who were present, as only calculated to encourage Adultery and Adulterers; and the Council itself was stigmatized with the Name of a Brothel. The Two Archbishops, *Theutgaud* and *Gunthier*, were deposed, and forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to exercise any Sacerdotal or Episcopal Functions whatever. The other Bishops their Accomplices were threatened with the like Sentence, if they did not repent, ask Pardon, and repair the Scandal they had given. *Engeltrude*, the Wife of Count *Boso*, who had been excommunicated by the Pope, but was absolved from that Excommunication by the Council of *Metz*, was excommunicated anew, with all who should favour or countenance her, or communicate with her. However, she was promised Forgiveness, if she returned to her Husband, or, repenting of her past Wickedness, applied for Absolution to the Apostolic See. Lastly, all were anathematized who did not pay due Obedience to the Decrees of the Apostolic See concerning the Catholic Faith, the Ecclesiastic Discipline, and the Reformation of Manners.

who apply to  
the Emperor.

The Two Prelates, highly provoked at the haughty and arbitrary Proceedings of the Pope and his Bishops, in thus condemning them and a whole Council, without having first heard what they had to allege in their Defence, left *Rome*, and repairing to the Emperor, who was then at *Benevento*, complained to him of the unworthy Treatment they met with as an Affront not only offered to his Brother the King of *Lorraine*, whose Deputies they were, but to himself, and the whole Royal Family; represented to him the deposing a Metropolitan, without the Approbation of the Prince, and the Consent of the other Metropolitans, as a Thing never before heard of, as a notorious Breach of the fundamental Laws of the Church, and an Encroaching on the Prerogatives of Princes, as well as on the Rights of all other Bishops; and therefore entreated him to exert

• See above, p. 287.

his Authority to restrain the growing Power of the Pope within the Limits prescribed by the Canons, and oblige him to restore those, whom he had so unjustly deposed, to their former Rank and Degrees. The Emperor readily interposed, and wrote to the Pope in their favour; but finding him unalterable, and being, at the same time, animated against him by the Two Archbishops, he resolved to let him know that he was his Lord and his Master. He set out accordingly for *Rome*, with the Empress, with the Two Archbishops, and a Body of Troops, determined to make the Pope pay dear for his Disobedience, if he did not, in Compliance with his Will, reinstate the deposed Bishops in their Sees. The Pope, informed of the Resolution of the Emperor, ordered a public Fast, with public Prayers and Processions, to implore the Protection of Heaven, and beseech the Almighty, in whose Hands are the Hearts of Kings, to inspire the Prince with a more favourable Disposition of Mind for the See of *St. Peter*. The Emperor took up his Abode near the Church of *St. Peter*; and the People coming thither in Procession to the Tomb of that Apostle, his Guards, alarmed upon seeing the Populace assembled in such Crowds, fell upon them as they were going up the Steps to the Church, threw some of them down, beat others, broke their Crosses and Banners, and dispersed the whole Multitude. The Pope, who was then in the *Lateran* Palace, being informed of what had passed, and at the same time told, that the Emperor designed to seize on his Person, privately withdrew from thence, and embarking on the *Tyber*, took Refuge in the Church of *St. Peter*, and remained there Two whole Days, without eating or drinking. In the mean time the Emperor was, very seasonably for the Pope, seized with a Fever; and it was given out, that one died suddenly, who, in the late Tumult, had broken a Cross, which *St. Helena*, the Mother of *Constantine the Great*, had formerly given to the *Roman* Church, and in which was inclosed some of the Wood of the true Cross. Whether this was true, or, what is more probable, a mere Invention of the Pope or his Friends, we know not. But it had the wished-for Effect; for the Emperor believing it, and thereupon suffering Superstition to prevail over his good Sense, sent the Empress in Person to let the Pope know, that he might quit his Asylum with great Safety, and to invite him to a Conference. In this Interview, the Pope, no doubt, informed the Emperor of the true State of the Affair of his Brother *Lotharius*, and the shocking Proceedings

Year of  
Christ 863.

The Emperor  
goes to Rome.  
Year of  
Christ 864.

The Pope  
takes Refuge  
in the Church  
of St. Peter.

The Emperor  
reconciled  
with him.

Year of  
Christ 864.

of the Council of *Metz*: And the Result was, that the Emperor, abandoning the Protection of the Two Archbishops, ordered them back into *France*. As the Emperor came to *Rome* full of Wrath against the Pope, the Troops he had with him committed, at first, most dreadful Disorders; they plundered the Houses, and burnt them; broke into the Churches, and stripped them of all their valuable Ornaments; murdered the Men, and ravished the Women, not sparing even those who were shut up in the Monasteries<sup>f</sup>. But if the Emperor came like a Lion, he went away like a Lamb; and repairing to *Ravenna*, he there kept his *Easter*, which, in the present Year 864, fell on the Second of *April*.

Gunthier's  
Letter to the  
Bishops of  
Lorraine and  
the Pope.

The Archbishop of *Cologne*, finding himself forsaken by the Emperor, and thereupon despairing of being ever restored to his See, drew up, in the Name of the Archbishop of *Treves*, as well as his own, a Kind of Protest, or rather an Invective against the Pope, and sent it to the Bishops of the Kingdom of *Lorraine*. He there entreated those Bishops not to credit the Reports they might hear to his Prejudice and his Collegue's; exhorted them not to think the worse of either for any thing *Nicholas* had done, *Nicholas*, said he, who is called Pope, but affects the Empire of the whole World; encouraged them to continue united among themselves, to visit their King frequently, to assist him with their Advice, to engage as many as they could in his Cause, and, above all Things, to keep his Uncle *Lewis* King of *Germany* steady in his Interest. *Gunthier*, having thus far directed his Speech to the Bishops of *Lorraine*, addresses himself in the next place to the Pope, in the following Words: "We  
" were deputed to you by the Bishops our Brethren to acquaint  
" you with the Judgment we had given, and lay before you the  
" Authorities and Reasons that induced us to give it. We commu-  
" nicated them to you accordingly in Writing, in order to know  
" whether you approved or disapproved of what we had done; and  
" humbly entreated you to teach and instruct us, being ready to em-  
" brace what should be thought best. But you, after keeping us  
" for Three whole Weeks in Suspence, only declared one Day in  
" public, that, according to what was set forth in our Writing, we  
" seemed innocent and excuseable. At last you sent for us; and  
" when we were brought into your Presence, suspecting no ill Treat-  
" ment, you caused the Doors to be shut, and we were first set upon

<sup>f</sup> Annal. Bertin.

“ by a mixed Crowd of Clerks and Laymen ; and then, without any  
 “ Synod, or any canonical Examination ; without Accusers, Wit-  
 “ nesses, or any Proofs from Authority or Reason to convince us ;  
 “ without our own Confession ; without the Concurrence of other  
 “ Bishops or other Metropolitans ; you arbitrarily condemned us out  
 “ of your tyrannical Rage, being instigated thereunto by your only  
 “ Counsellor *Anastasius*, a condemned, deposed, and anathematized  
 “ Priest : We do not therefore submit to your wicked Sentence, but  
 “ reject and despise it as a Curse uttered in the Transport of your  
 “ Fury, contrary to Justice, to Reason, to the Canons : And satis-  
 “ fied with the Communion of the Catholic Church, which you  
 “ arrogantly despise, and of which you have rendered yourself un-  
 “ worthy by your Pride, we exclude you from our Communion, as  
 “ an Abettor of excommunicated Persons, and one who communi-  
 “ cates with them. You have anathematized yourself in anathema-  
 “ rizing those who do not observe the Apostolical Precepts, when you  
 “ yourself have transgressed them in so many Instances, annulling,  
 “ so far as in you lies, the Institutions of your Predecessors, and with  
 “ them the divine Laws, as well as the Laws of the Church. It is  
 “ not to revenge the Injustice you have done to us in particular that  
 “ we thus address you, but to vindicate the Dignity, and assert the  
 “ Rights of our Order, which you have so iniquitously invaded.”  
 He closes his Letter with declaring, that, notwithstanding the Judg-  
 ment given by Pope *Nicholas* and his Council, *Waldrada* was, by  
 the Laws divine, civil, and canonical, not the Concubine, but the  
 lawful Wife of the King of *Lorraine* &c. The Direction of this Writ-  
 ing was, *Gunthier and Theutgaud to Pope Nicholas*, tho’ *Theut-*  
*gaud* was no ways concerned in it. *Gunthier* sent Copies of it to all  
 the Bishops of *Lorraine* ; One he transmitted to *Photius*, desiring  
 his Communion, and entering into a Kind of Alliance with him  
 against the Pope ; and One he charged his Brother *Hilduin* to deli-  
 ver into the Pope’s own Hands, and, if he would not receive it, to  
 lay it on the Tomb of St. *Peter*. *Hilduin* went accordingly, attended  
 by a Troop of armed Men, to present it to the Pope while he was  
 in the Church of St. *Peter* ; but the Pope refusing to receive it, and  
 the Keepers of the Church striving at the same time to prevent him  
 from approaching the Tomb of St. *Peter*, his Men fell upon them  
 Sword in Hand, killed one of them, wounded others, and thus made

Year of  
Christ 864.

Year of  
Christ 864.

Is laid on the  
Tomb of St.  
Peter.

The Archbi-  
shop of  
Treves sub-  
mits to his  
Sentence,

and the other  
Bishops re-  
tract the  
Judgment  
they had  
given.  
Letter of the  
Bishop of  
Metz to the  
Pope.

way for *Hilduin*, who laid the Writing on the Tomb of the Apostle, and then withdrew to his Brother, who was, it seems, still in *Rome*; but he soon after returned to *Cologne*, and there said Mass on *Maundy Thursday*, consecrated the Chrism, and performed every other Function of the Episcopal Office <sup>b</sup>.

Of all the Bishops who had assisted at the Council of *Metz*, *Gunthier* alone had the Courage to oppose the uncanonical and arbitrary Proceedings of the Pope. As for the Archbishop of *Treves*, he acquiesced, from the Beginning, in his Sentence, and abstained from all Episcopal Functions; and the rest of the Bishops, finding themselves threatened with Excommunication and Deposition, if they did not retract the Judgment they had given, thought it adviseable to submit; and they wrote accordingly to the Pope, owning or excusing their Fault, and begging his Holiness to forgive them. Of the several Letters that, on this Occasion, were written to the Pope by the penitent Bishops, that only of *Adventius* of *Metz* has been transmitted to us. He begins it with extolling the Pope for the inimitable Sanctity of his exemplary Life, and excusing himself, on account of his Age, of the Gout, and other Infirmities, for not repairing in Person to the Thresholds of the Apostles, and his most desirable Presence. He then declares, that he no longer looks upon *Gunthier* and *Theutgaud* as Bishops, tho' the latter submits to his Sentence, forbears exercising any Episcopal Function, confesses his Fault, and owns himself to have been led astray by the perverse Obstinacy of the other, meaning *Gunthier*; and on him he lays chiefly the Blame, exaggerating his Guilt in presuming to perform the Functions of the Archiepiscopal Office, tho' degraded and excommunicated by the Authority of the Apostolic See. As for himself, he protests before God, before the Angels and Archangels, that, in the Affair of King *Lotharius*, he verily believed the Facts that were related in the Council, relying on the Veracity of those who related them (Q); that, agreeably to the Canons, he submitted his Judgment to that of the Metropolitans, as it did not become him to oppose them and so

<sup>b</sup> Annal. Bertin.

(Q) The improbable Tale that *Lotharius* married *Waldrada* by the Command of the Emperor *Lotharius* his Father, while he was yet very young, and was afterwards forced by Count *Hubert*, surnamed *Ace-*

*phale*, to marry his Sister *Theutberga*, was related in the Council of *Aix la Chapelle*, by this very Bishop, as a Fact not to be questioned; nay, and is supposed to have been invented by him, to gratify the King-

many

many Bishops, all his Seniors in the Episcopacy; that too much Credulity, and a blind Deference to the Opinion of his Superiors and his Brethren, are the only Things that can be laid justly to his Charge; that he was no-ways concerned in the Absolution of *Engeltrude*; that he not only abstains himself, but exhorts others to abstain, from the Communion of such as have been excommunicated by the Vicar of *St. Peter*, if they presume to perform any sacred Functions; that he is guilty of no Sedition or Conspiracy, but inviolably attached to the See of the prime Apostle, whom our Saviour had trusted with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. In the Close of his Letter, he excuses his Delay in sending to *Rome* this his Declaration; ascribes it to his having first endeavoured to persuade the rest of his Brethren to act in Concert with him; and beseeches his Holiness to let him know, by the Return of the Messenger, that he has forgiven him, that, as he is near his End, he may have the Satisfaction of dying in his Communion<sup>i</sup>. With this Letter *Adventius* sent another, written at his Request to the Pope, by *Charles* King of *France*; wherein that Prince warmly recommended him to his Holiness, as one whom his Uncle *Drogo*, the immediate Predecessor of *Adventius* in the See of *Metz*, had educated, and thought worthy of his Friendship, and whom he himself had always loved and esteemed.

Year of  
Christ 864.

The Pope received the Apology of *Adventius*, such as it was, and so he did that of all the other Bishops, upon Condition that they renounced the Communion of *Gunthier*, and encouraged the King, as was incumbent upon them, to repair the Scandal he had given. *Adventius* had said in his Letter, that he had submitted to the King agreeably to the Command of the Apostle, *Submit yourself to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, &c.*<sup>k</sup>. In Answer to that, the Pope, in his Letter, approves the Saying of the Apostle; but adds, *See whether the Princes and Kings, to whom you submit, be really Princes and Kings; whether they govern themselves well, and likewise their Subjects; for to whom will he be good, who is not good to himself? See whether they have a Right to the Title of Princes, otherwise we ought to look upon them as Tyrants rather than Princes or Kings, and, instead of submitting to them, resist and oppose them; since we cannot submit to them without favouring their Vices:*

The Pope's  
Answer to  
the Bishop of  
Metz.

<sup>i</sup> Apud Baron. ad ann. 853. n. 59, & seq.

<sup>k</sup> St. Peter, c. xi. ver. 13.



Year of  
Christ 864.

*Submit therefore to the King as Supreme, or as exceeding all by his Virtues, and not by his Vices; and submit to him for the Lord's sake, as the Apostle commands, and not against the Lord.* We have here a notable Disagreement between the Two Popes, Pope Peter and Pope Nicholas. Pope Peter thought Obedience was due to Princes, be they ever so bad; for Nero, that Monster of Wickedness, was King or Emperor when he commanded the Faithful to *submit themselves to every Ordinance of Man, whether it be to the King, &c.* But Pope Nicholas teaches a very different Doctrine, viz. that Obedience is not due to bad Princes, perverting for that Purpose the Words of his pretended Predecessor; *be subject to the King as excelling, that is, says he, as excelling in Virtues, not in Vices:* Whereas the Apostle evidently meant an Eminency in Power, abstracting from the Vices, as well as the Virtues, of him in whom it was vested. Besides, the Pope here supposes that a Prince may forfeit his Crown and his Title by personal Vices that hurt none but himself; and that, for such Vices, we ought to look upon him as a Tyrant, and, instead of submitting to him, resist and oppose him: A most seditious and impious Doctrine!

Lotharius  
abandons the  
Archbishop of  
Cologne,

The Two Archbishops were not so much concerned at the Conduct of their Brethren on the present Occasion, as at that of the King: They had acted in this whole Affair as he had directed them, and it was to gratify him that they had incurred the Displeasure of the Pope. But he, instead of supporting them, no sooner heard of the Sentence pronounced against them at Rome, than he withdrew from their Communion, and no longer looking upon them as Bishops, would not assist at the Mass that Gunthier, his grand Chaplain, said upon his Return to Cologne. He even wrote to the Pope by Rabold Bishop of Strasburgh, highly disapproving the refractory Behaviour of the Archbishop of Cologne, and at the same time commending the opposite Conduct of his Collegue the Archbishop of Treves in submitting to his Sentence, and abstaining from all the Functions of his Office. In another Letter which he wrote at this time to the Pope, he referred the Point in dispute to the Judgment of the Apostolic See; offered to go to Rome to plead his Cause there in Person; solemnly declared that it was against his Will the Archbishop of Cologne had said Mass; and that, far from countenancing him in his Disobedience, he had advised and exhorted him to acquiesce, as the other had done, in his Sentence. The King did not content

him.

Nicholas.

BISHOPS of Rome.

303.

himself with thus only disapproving the Conduct of *Gunthier*; he soon after intirely forsook him, confirmed the Sentence of his Deposition, and, to recommend himself the more effectually to the Favour of the Pope, appointed him a Successor in the See of *Cologne*, viz. *Hugh*, Cousin-german to *Charles the Bald*, and Nephew to the late Empress *Judith*, who was only a Subdeacon, and led a Life unworthy of a good Layman. *Gunthier*, highly provoked at the Ingratitude of *Lotharius* in thus acknowledging his Services, plundered the Treasury of his Church, and, repairing to *Rome* with all the Wealth he found in it, disclosed to the Pope, without Reserve, the various Artifices and Inventions that had been made use of by himself and the King in the Affair of *Theutberga* and *Waldrada*, to impose upon the other Bishops, as well as the Apostolic See. He flattered himself, and so did *Theutgaud*, who went to *Rome* at the same time, that the Pope, satisfied with their public Confession, would absolve them from the Excommunication, and perhaps restore them to their Sees, if the Emperor, to whom they designed to apply, interposed in their favour. But *Nicholas*, instead of revoking, confirmed, in a Council assembled in the *Lateran*, the Sentence he had formerly pronounced against the Two Prelates, and acquainted therewith, by a circulatory Letters the *German* and *Gallican* Bishops, that they might not plead Ignorance in treating them thenceforth as Bishops, or communicating with them <sup>1</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 864.

who discloses  
the Whole to  
the Pope;

but is not  
therefore re-  
stored to his  
See.

It was probably in this Council that the Legate *Rodoald*, Bishop of *Porto*, whose Avarice and scandalous Conduct both in the East and the West, reflected so much Disgrace on the holy See, was excommunicated and deposed. Conscious of his Guilt, he had absconded after the Council of *Metz*; but returning to *Rome* when the Emperor and the Two Archbishops were there, he unexpectedly appeared before the Pope while he was shut up, and surrounded by his Enemies, in the Church of *St. Peter*. As the Pope could not then convene a Council to judge him, he ordered him to remain in *Rome* till the Meeting of one, when he should have an Opportunity of justifying his Conduct; assured him, that, in the mean time, he had nothing to fear; but threatened him with Excommunication and Deposition, if, without his Leave, he withdrew, and absconded anew. *Rodoald* well knew what would be the Consequence of his being judged by the Pope and a Council; and therefore leaving *Rome*

The Legate  
Rodoald ex-  
communicated  
and deposed.

<sup>1</sup> Annal. Bertin.

privately,

Year of  
Christ 864.

privately, he first plundered his Church, that of *Porto*, and then fled to some other Country, where he was never more heard of. Hereupon the Pope, looking upon his Flight as a Confession of his Guilt, excommunicated and deposed him; threatening at the same time to anathematize him, if he communicated with the anathematized *Photius*, or gave any Trouble to the Patriarch *Ignatius* <sup>m</sup>. The Pope, it seems, apprehended, that he had fled into the East, to put himself there under the Protection of his Friend *Photius*.

Dispute be-  
tween Hinc-  
mar and  
Rothade.

Rothade is  
suspended,  
and appeals  
to the Pope.

Hincmar  
puts a Stop  
to his Jour-  
ney to Rome.

In this same Council, or in One held about the same time, was determined the Dispute between *Rothade* Bishop of *Soissons*, and his Metropolitan the celebrated *Hincmar* Archbishop of *Reims*. *Rothade* had deposed a Presbyter of his Diocese guilty of Fornication. But *Hincmar*, to whom the Presbyter appealed knowing that he had long borne a secret Grudge to the Bishop of *Soissons*, ordered him to be restored after Three Years; and excommunicating in the mean time the Presbyter, whom *Rothade* had appointed in his room, insisted on his being forthwith removed from his Church, and shut up in a Prison. As the Judgment given by *Rothade* had been confirmed by no fewer than Thirty Bishops, he refused to comply with that of the Metropolitan; who having thereupon assembled a Council in the Suburbs of *Soissons* in 861, suspended him, for his Disobedience, from Episcopal Communion, till he obeyed. The following Year, *Charles the Bald* having appointed a Council to meet at *Pistes*, now *Poissy*, *Rothade* repaired thither, to assist at it with the rest of the Bishops; but finding they would not admit him, alleging that he had been excluded by his Metropolitan from Episcopal Communion, he appealed to the Apostolic See; and his Appeal was allowed by the Council. He therefore returned to *Soissons*, in order to prepare for his Journey to *Rome*; but, before he set out, he wrote to the King, and to *Hincmar*, recommending his Church to their Care in his Absence; and likewise to One of the Bishops his particular Friend, desiring him to apply to the other Bishops, and implore, in his Name, their Assistance. The Bishop, to whom this Letter was addressed, was returned to his Diocese, when the Presbyter, who was charged with it, arrived at *Poissy*. But *Hincmar* and the King, who were still there, obliged him to produce it; and *Hincmar*, having got it into his Possession, laid hold of what was said in it to put a Stop to *Rothade's* Journey to *Rome*. He pretended,

<sup>m</sup> Nicol. ep. 7.

that

that *Rothade*, by imploring the Protection of the Bishops of *France*, had consented to his being judged by them, and dropt his Appeal to the Pope. He was therefore ordered, in the King's Name, not to stir from his Diocese; and *Hincmar* repairing from *Poissi*, with the Bishops who still remained there, to *Soissons*, summoned him to appear before them, in order to be judged by those, whom he himself had chosen for his Judges, and from whose Judgment there lay no Appeal, agreeably to the universally received Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, *ab electis iudicibus appellare non licet, it is not lawful to appeal from Judges of one's own choosing*. *Rothade* refused to comply with the Summons, solemnly declared it had never entered into his Thoughts to chuse the Bishops of *France* for his Judges, taxed *Hincmar* with unfair Dealing, in intercepting and misinterpreting a Letter he had written to a Friend, and renewed his Appeal to the Pope.

In the mean time the King coming to *Soissons* to assist at the Council, *Rothade* had an Interview with him, and was graciously received; but he could not prevail upon him to agree to his going to *Rome* without the Consent of his Metropolitan, and the Bishops of the Council, whose Province it was, he said, to determine that Point. After this Interview, he was summoned the Third time, and, upon his still refusing to appear, taken into Custody, and shut up in a Cell, to wait there for his Sentence. He had not been thus long confined, when Three Bishops came to acquaint him, in the Name of the Council, that he was deposed, and no longer a Bishop. From this Sentence *Rothade* appealed anew to the Apostolic See; but *Hincmar*, paying no kind of Regard to his Appeal, caused him to be imprisoned, and even ordained another in his room. He offered him, however, a rich Abbey, upon Condition that he withdrew his Appeal, and acquiesced in his Sentence. This Offer *Rothade* rejected with Scorn; and *Hincmar* in the mean time, having caused the fornicating Priest, whom he had deposed, to be made an Eunuch (perhaps the only effectual Remedy against the Incontinence of Priests) restored him to his Church. Thus *Rothade* in the Act of his Appeal to the Pope<sup>n</sup>. But the *Bertinian* Annalist, who lived at this time, approves of his Deposition, styles him a new *Pharaoh*, on account of his Obstinacy in not submitting to his Sentence, and speaks of him as a *Man changed into a Brute, homo mutatus in belluam*<sup>o</sup>. How-

<sup>n</sup> Apud Baron. ad ann. 863. n. 81.

<sup>o</sup> Annal. Bertin. ad hunc ann. & Nicol. ep. 29.

Year of  
Christ 864.

ever that be, he was, it seems, greatly beloved by the People of his Diocese; for when the Legates, *Rodoald* and *John*, came to *Soissons* to deliver the Pope's Letter in favour of *Baldwin* to the King<sup>p</sup>, they crouded from all Parts, demanding, with loud Cries, the Liberty and Restoration of their Bishop, though *Hilmerade*, Bishop of *Chalons*, commanded them, in the Name of the King and the Archbishop, to desist, and endeavoured to disperse them with Blows, as well as with Menaces. I cannot persuade myself that he would have been so dear to his Flock, had he answered the Character that *Hincmar* and the *Bertinian* Annalist, perhaps partial to *Hincmar*, have given him. The Pope speaks of him very favourably<sup>q</sup>; but his appealing from his Metropolitan and a national Council to the Apostolic See, was enough to recommend him to his Holiness's Favour.

The Pope orders *Hincmar* to restore him to his See.

The Pope was soon informed by several Persons of what had passed at *Soissons*; and he no sooner received that Information, than looking upon the Deposition of *Rothade* as contrary to the Canons, and derogatory to the Privileges of the Apostolic See, he wrote to *Hincmar*, ordering him to restore the deposed Bishop within the Term of Thirty Days after the Receipt of his Letter, to grant him Leave to come to *Rome*, and either to come with him, or to send a Deputy to act in his Name, on Pain of being *ipso facto* suspended from saying Mass; and that Sentence he extended to all the Bishops who had consented to the Deposition of *Rothade*. Upon the Receipt of this

Letters from *Hincmar* to the Pope, and from the Pope to *Hincmar*.

Letter, *Hincmar*, and the other Bishops of the Council of *Soissons*, dispatched *Odo*, Bishop of *Beauvais*, to *Rome*, with the Acts of that Council, and Letters to justify their Conduct, and entreat the Pope to confirm the Judgment they had given. The King wrote at the same time, and so did *Hermentrude* the Queen, at his Request, to beg the Pope not to patronize or protect one, whom the other Bishops had judged unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, and deposed in a Council. But those Letters, and much more, the Acts of the Council, only served to engage the Pope more warmly in the Defence of *Rothade*, or, as he pretended, of the violated Privileges of his See: He therefore wrote to *Hincmar*, expressing great Surprise and Concern at his presuming to judge and depose one who had appealed to the Apostolic See, nay, and to appoint him a Successor, notwithstanding his Appeal, in Defiance of the Canons received by the whole Church. This, he tells *Hincmar*, he cannot bear, nor dis-

<sup>p</sup> See above, p. 289.

<sup>q</sup> Nicol. ep. 29.

Nicholas.

BISHOPS of Rome.

307

semble being determined to maintain, to his last Breath, the just Rights of his See; exhorts, or rather commands him to set *Rothade* forthwith at Liberty, and no longer to obstruct his Journey to *Rome* under any Pretence whatsoever, since he should think himself obliged, if he did not obey after the Third Admonition (and this, he tells him, is the Second) to proceed to the Sentence that his Disobedience and Obstinacy deserved<sup>r</sup>. The Pope wrote at the same time a Letter, much to the same Purpose, in Answer to that of the Bishops of the Council; for he there declared the Sentence they had pronounced to be repugnant to the Canons, to those of *Sardica* in particular; to be inconsistent with the Privileges of his See, and consequently null; ordered them to send *Rothade* to *Rome*, and Two or Three Bishops with him, or, at least, Two Deputies, in order to his being judged anew, and either condemned or absolved, according to the Canons; and concluded with threatening to treat them as they had treated him, if they did not obey within the Space of Thirty Days after the Receipt of his Letter<sup>s</sup>. In this Letter, the Pope lays it down as a general Rule, that when the Canons and the Imperial Laws, which the Bishops had alleged against Appeals, interfere with one another, the Canons ought to take place; which, in effect, was not only establishing one Empire within another, *imperium in imperio*, but subjecting the secular Empire to the ecclesiastic, the State to the Church, and Princes and Emperors to the Pope and the Clergy. The Pope wrote at the same time to the King, *Charles the Bald*, desiring him to grant *Rothade* Liberty to come to *Rome*<sup>t</sup>; and likewise to *Rothade* himself, to acquaint him with what he had written to *Hincmar* and the other Bishops, and encourage him to pursue, in spite of all Opposition, his Appeal to the See of St. *Peter*<sup>u</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 864.

Upon the Receipt of these Letters, *Hincmar*, unwilling to quarrel with the Pope, released *Rothade* from his Confinement; and the King, in a Council held at *Verberie*, consented in the end to his going to *Rome*<sup>w</sup>. They took care to acquaint the Pope immediately therewith by the Deacon *Lindo*, whom they dispatched to *Rome* for that Purpose; and by the same Deacon, on his Return to *France*, the Pope wrote to the King, to the Queen, and anew to *Rothade*. In his Letter to the King, he expressed great Satisfaction at his having

*Rothade released, and allowed to go to Rome.*

<sup>r</sup> Nicol. ep. 28.  
<sup>w</sup> Annal. Bertin.

<sup>s</sup> Idem, ep. 32.

<sup>t</sup> Idem, ep. 30.

<sup>u</sup> Idem, ep. 29.

Year of  
Christ 864.

granted to *Rothade* the so long wished-for Liberty of coming to *Rome*, and exhorted him to supply him with what was necessary for his Journey <sup>x</sup>. He excused himself, in his Letter to the Queen, for not complying with her Request, since he could not abandon one, who thinking himself injured, had appealed to him <sup>y</sup>; and encouraged *Rothade* anew, in his Letter to him, to adhere to his Appeal, provided he was conscious to himself of his Innocence; but, if he was not, to acquiesce in his Sentence, and not give himself and others unnecessary Trouble <sup>z</sup>.

Hincmar's  
Letter to the  
Pope.

*Hincmar*, finding his Conduct gave great Offence at *Rome*, wrote a long Letter to the Pope, to shew that *Rothade* had no Reason to complain of any Injustice done him; but, on the contrary, that they had treated him with more Lenity than he deserved, and had acted agreeably to the Canons both in judging and condemning him. The only Charge brought against him by *Hincmar* in the Council, was his obstinately refusing to restore the Presbyter whom he had deposed, notwithstanding the express Command of his Metropolitan, to whom he owed Obedience. But, in his Letter to the Pope, he charges him besides with having alienated and squandered away the Revenues of his Church, with having disposed of many rich Offerings made by his Predecessors, and others, for the Redemption of their Souls; with having pawned a golden Chalice enriched with precious Stones, without the Knowledge of the other Bishops, of his Metropolitan, or even of the Oeconomus, or Steward of the Church; and, lastly, with having lived, in spite of repeated Admonitions, in a Manner unworthy of any Ecclesiastic, and much more of a Bishop, to the great Scandal of the Flock committed to his Care. *Hincmar*, in the next place, proceeds to shew, that *Rothade* had acted contrary to the Canons in appealing, after his Condemnation, to the Pope, and not the Bishops of the Council in rejecting his Appeal, and not suffering him to pursue it at *Rome*. But, to prove this, he takes it for granted, that *Rothade* had withdrawn his Appeal, and consented to be judged by the Bishops of the same Province; which he absolutely denied, as has been observed above. As the Pope had, in all his Letters, reproached *Hincmar*, as well as the other Bishops of the Council of *Soissons*, with a manifest Breach of the Canons, especially of the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, in not permitting *Rothade* to go to *Rome* after his Appeal, and plead his Cause in

<sup>x</sup> Epist. 35.    <sup>y</sup> Epist. 36.    <sup>z</sup> Epist. 37.

Person at the Tribunal, to which he had appealed; *Hincmar*, in Answer to that Reproach, allows the Pope to have been impowered by the Council of *Sardica* to receive Appeals from the Judgment of the Metropolitans and provincial Synods; and that, by virtue of such a Power, he may order the Cause to be judged anew. But he ob-  
Year of Christ 864. He taxes him with acting contrary to the Canons.  
 serves at the same time, and very justly, that this is not to be done at *Rome*, but in the Province; it being ordained by several Councils, and even by that of *Sardica* itself, that all Disputes should be determined in the Places where they arose; and that the Pope may therefore cause the Judgment to be renewed in the Province where it was given, and send, if he pleases, a Legate to assist at it in his Name; but is not authorized by the Council of *Sardica*, or any other Council, to summon the deposed Bishop, or those who deposed him, to *Rome*. He adds, that nevertheless, at the Desire of his Holiness, *Rothade* has been set at Liberty, and may undertake, when he pleases, his intended Journey to *Rome*; but that if the Pope should reverse the Sentence pronounced against him by his Metropolitan and the Bishops of the Province, the Judgment of provincial as well as national Synods would, for the future, be quite disregarded; that the greatest Offenders, when condemned by them, would recur to *Rome* as to a safe Asylum; and that, as for himself, he would never again take upon him to judge any other, but should only admonish them, and, if they did not hearken to his Admonitions, refer them to the Judgment of the Apostolic See<sup>a</sup>.

As the Pope had, in all his Letters to *Hincmar* and the other Bishops of the Council of *Soissons*, insisted on their sending Deputies to *Rome*, to maintain the Judgment they had given, they yielded at last; and their Deputies set out accordingly, together with *Rothade*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Mans*, who was charged with Letters from the King to the Pope, and probably with the Letter which I have just mentioned from *Hincmar*. But the Emperor refusing to let them pass through his Dominions, they stopt at *Bejançon*; and from thence the Bishop of *Mans* and the Deputies, not displeased at the Disappointment, wrote to the Pope to acquaint him with it, and then returned to *France*. But *Rothade*, pretending Sickness, staid at *Bejançon*, till, by means of his Friends at the Courts of *Lotharius* and *Lewis* King of *Germany*, he obtained the Emperor's Permission to pursue his Journey to *Rome*, where he arrived in the Month of  
Rothade goes to Rome,

<sup>a</sup> Apud Flodoard. l. iii. c. 13. & Baron. ad ann. 865. n. 35.



Year of  
Christ 864.

and is rein-  
stated in his  
Dignity,

and restored  
to his See.

Year of  
Christ 865.

Arsenius sent  
into France,  
with the  
Character of  
Legate a la-  
tere, to de-  
termine the  
Affair of  
Lotharius.  
Charged  
with several  
Letters.

*June* 864. Some time after, Deputies arrived, sent by *Hincmar* with the Letter mentioned above, and Two more from him to the Pope <sup>b</sup>. But as those Deputies were not commissioned to accuse or prosecute *Rothade*, and no-body else appeared against him, the Pope, after performing divine Service on *Christmas-Eve* in the Church of *St. Mary the Greater*, went up into the Reading-desk; and having from thence related and explained the whole Affair of that Bishop, as set forth by him in his Memorial, and observed in particular, that he never had withdrawn his Appeal to the Apostolic See, as was *falsly* and *maliciously* asserted by *Hincmar*, he declared him worthy of the Episcopal Ornaments, and ordered him to resume them; which he did accordingly, with the Consent and Approbation of the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, who were present, and the whole Assembly, promising to answer his Accusers when any should appear against him <sup>c</sup>. Thus was *Rothade* reinstated in his Dignity; but the Pope, waiting for his Accusers, did not restore him to his See, nor allow him to perform any Episcopal Functions, till the 21<sup>st</sup> of *January*, the Festival of *St. Agnes*, when officiating in the Church of that Saint, he declared him, in a most solemn Manner, to have been unjustly deposed, to appear innocent of the Charge brought against him, since none had attempted to make it good during the long Stay he had made at *Rome*, and consequently to have never forfeited the Right he had to preside in the See of *Soissons*. The Act of his Restoration was then publicly read; and he thereupon said Mass with great Solemnity in the neighbouring Church of *St. Constantia* <sup>d</sup>.

Soon after *Rothade* set out from *Rome* on his Return to *France*, accompanied by *Arsenius*, Bishop of *Orta* in *Tuscany*, a Man of a most haughty and imperious Temper, whom the Pope sent with him to see him reinstated in his See, and at the same time to determine the Affair of *Lotharius*. *Arsenius* was charged with Letters from the Pope to *Charles the Bald*, to *Hincmar*, and to the *Gallican* Bishops; all tending to ascertain the Right he claimed of receiving Appeals from national as well as provincial Synods; of obliging the Parties to plead their Cause at *Rome*; and of confirming or annulling the Judgment given in the Provinces, as it should be found agreeable or repugnant to the Decisions of the Councils, or the Decrees of the Apostolic See. But the only Proofs he alleged to maintain this pretended Right, were either taken from the Canons of Councils falsi-

<sup>b</sup> Apud Flodoard. l. xii. c. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Anast. in Nicol.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

fied or misunderstood, or from such Decretals as are now universally allowed to be spurious. However, *Nicholas* declared them all to be ancient, genuine, and of great Authority in the Church; and because the greater Causes, *causæ majores*, were said by *Gregory the Great* to belong to the First Bishop, or the Bishop of *Rome*, by greater Causes, he understood the Causes of Bishops; and from thence concluded, that they could be finally determined only at *Rome*. In his Letter to *Hincmar*, he acquaints him with the Judgment given in favour of *Rothade*, and commands him, by virtue of his Apostolic Authority, either to come in Person to accuse him, or to acquiesce in that Judgment, on Pain of being himself degraded, and for ever cut off from the Communion of the Catholic Church<sup>e</sup>. He tells the *Gallican* Bishops, in his Letter to them, that *Rothade* did not withdraw his Appeal, that he could not withdraw it, and consent to his being judged by them, all Appeals from a superior to an inferior Tribunal being in themselves void and null. He adds, that they are still free to make good, if they can, the Charge brought against him at the Tribunal to which he appealed; but insists on their first reinstating him in his See, and restoring him to his former Condition; which was requiring them to reverse their own Sentence. To this the *Gallican* Bishops would not agree; and therefore, unwilling to quarrel with the Pope, the rather as they apprehended that the King, who, at this Juncture, wanted his Assistance, would not support them, they suffered *Rothade* to take undisturbed Possession of his See (O).

The

<sup>e</sup> Nicol. ep. 41.

(O) From the Letters of *Hincmar*, and the whole Conduct of the *Gallican* Bishops on this Occasion, it appears, I. That they knew of no other Tribunal for the judging of Bishops but the Council of the Province. II. That they allowed of Appeals to the Apostolic See after, but not before, Judgment was given by the Bishops of the Province. III. That they acknowledged no Power in the Pope, when appealed to, of removing the Cause to *Rome*, but that only of ordering the Judgment to be renewed in the Province, and sending, if he pleased, Legates to assist at it in his Name. And truly no other Power was granted to the Pope by the Canons of *Sardica*; nay,

by those Canons, the Pope was not empowered to re-examine the Cause upon an Appeal; but only to determine whether it should or should not be re-examined. If he found that it should, because it had not been sufficiently discussed, or the Judges had been influenced by Favour or Hatred, he was, in that case, to order the Judgment to be renewed in the Province, either by the same Bishops only, and his Legate or Legates, or by the Bishops of the neighbouring Province together with them. *Leo the Great* was the First who claimed a Power of summoning Bishops to *Rome*, and judging their Cause anew there (1). *Hincmar* and the *Gallican* Bishops were sensible,

(1) See Vol. II. p. 18. Note (C).

that,

Year of  
Christ 865.

*Arsenius re-  
pairs to the  
Courts of the  
French  
Princes,*

*with Letters  
in favour of  
the Emperor.*

*Is well re-  
ceived by the  
King of Ger-  
many.*

The Restoration of *Rothade* was not the only Commission that the Legate *Arsenius* was charged with. As *Charles* King of *Provence*, Brother to the Emperor *Lewis*, and to *Lotharius* King of *Lorraine*, died at this time without Issue, and a War was thereupon likely to ensue about his Dominions, between the Two Brothers of the deceased Prince and the Two Uncles, *Lewis* King of *Germany*, and *Charles* King of *France*, the Pope interposed, at the Request of the Emperor; and glad of an Opportunity to oblige him, as he wanted his Assistance against *Lotharius*, he ordered his Legate to repair to the Courts of *France* and *Germany*, and exert the whole Authority of his See in diverting those Princes from any Attempts upon a Kingdom, to which the Emperor had, he said, an hereditary and unquestionable Right. He wrote by *Arsenius* to both Princes, exhorting them to Peace and Concord; and likewise to the Bishops of their respective Kingdoms, requiring them to promote, to the utmost of their Power, a friendly Correspondence between the Two Kings and the Emperor, that the Emperor might not be obliged to turn against the Faithful the Sword, which he had received from the Vicar of the Prince of the Apostles to be employed against the Infidels (P), but might be allowed to govern, with Piety and Justice, the Kingdoms which had devolved to him by Inheritance, and he had been confirmed in by the sovereign Pontiff placing the Crown on his Head. He closes his Letter with threatening to excommunicate, and exclude for ever from the Church, all the Enemies of his Son the Emperor, and all who shall presume to make War upon him, or invade his Dominions <sup>e</sup>.

With these Letters *Arsenius* repaired first to the Court of *Lewis* King of *Germany*, who was then at *Francfort*; and he not only received him with extraordinary Marks of Honour and Respect, but agreed, at his Request, to meet the Two Kings *Charles* and *Lotha-*

<sup>e</sup> Nicol. ep. 25.

that, in this whole Affair, the Pope had acted contrary to the very Canons he quoted to authorize his Conduct. But loth to break with him, which, they apprehended, would be attended with no small Disturbances in the State, as well as the Church, they did not oppose the Restoration of the deposed Bishop, how arbitrary soever and uncanonical, the rather as the Person they had named to succeed him was dead; but

contented themselves with remonstrating, in all their Letters, against it, as repugnant to the Canons, as tending to subvert all Discipline, and encourage Offenders to pay no sort of Regard to the Judgment of the Metropolitans and provincial Synods.

(P) The Pope had crowned the Emperor; and he alludes here to that Ceremony.

*rius* at *Cologne*, and there to renew, jointly with them, the Treaty of Peace, which they had concluded among themselves and with the Emperor, before the Death of the King of *Provence* &c. The Legate, at the same time, engaged the King to concur with him in persuading his Nephew the King of *Lorraine* to dismiss *Waldrada*, and to be reconciled to his lawful Wife *Theutberga*. As it was chiefly to determine that Affair *Arsenius* had been sent into *France*, and the Pope had vested him for that Purpose with all his Power and Authority, from *Francfort* he pursued his Journey to *Lorraine*, where he was no less honourably received by *Lotharius* than he had been in *Germany* by *Lewis*. The King granted him a public Audience the Day after his Arrival, attended by most of the Bishops and great Lords of the Kingdom, received him, as representing the Vicar of *St. Peter*, with all possible Marks of Distinction, and declared himself ready to comply in all Things with the Admonitions and Directions of the holy Pope *Nicholas*. In return for these Civilities, the haughty Legate abruptly told him, that he was sent by the sovereign Pontiff to remove the Scandal he had given by putting away his lawful Wife, and marrying a Prostitute in her room; and that he must therefore consent to dismiss the one, and take back the other, or he would that Instant pronounce the Sentence of Excommunication against him. The King was no less provoked than surprised at the Boldness of the Legate; but apprehending that, were he excommunicated, the Kings of *France* and *Germany* would lay hold of that Opportunity to invade his Dominions, he thought it adviseable to yield. But the Legate, not satisfied with his promising to drive *Waldrada* from his Bed, obliged him to swear that he would never recal her; that he would break off all Correspondence with her; that he would ever thenceforth treat *Theutberga* as his lawful Wife, and marry no other in her Life-time. The same Oath was taken, in the King's Name, at the Desire of the Legate, by Twelve of the chief Counts of the Kingdom <sup>b</sup>.

Year of  
Christ 865.

*His insolent  
and haughty  
Behaviour at  
the Court of  
Lorraine.*

*Arsenius*, proud of the Success of his Negotiations at the Court of *Lorraine*, proceeded from thence, pursuant to his Instructions, to that of *Charles of France*, to persuade that Prince, as he had done *Lewis of Germany*, to renew the Treaty of Peace with the Emperor, as well as with the King of *Lorraine*: And his Negotiations were attended there with the same Success as at the other Two Courts;

<sup>a</sup> Annal. Fuld.    <sup>b</sup> Annal. Bertin. & Metens. ad ann. 865, 866. Nicol. ep. 58.  
VOL. IV.

Year of  
Christ 865.

Obliges Lo-  
tharius to  
take back  
Theutberga.

Thunders  
Two Excom-  
munications.

for *Charles* not only confirmed the Peace, but agreed to an Interview with his Nephew *Lotharius*, who had solicited the Legate to procure it, in order to settle some Points that might create a Misunderstanding between him and his Uncle, and establish by that means a perfect Harmony between the Two Kingdoms. *Lotharius* no sooner heard of the peaceable Disposition of his Uncle, than he repaired to *Attigni*, where *Charles* then was; and there, by the Interposition of the Legate, Matters were settled in a very short Time, to the intire Satisfaction of the Two Kings. As *Theutberga* had taken Refuge in the Kingdom of *Charles*, upon the Death of her Brother Count *Hubert*, with whom she had lived in the Territories of the Emperor, *Arsenius* sent privately for her before *Lotharius* left *Attigni*; and, in order to render the Reconciliation more authentic and solemn, presented her to him when he least expected it, in the Presence of the King his Uncle, of all the great Lords of his Court, and of a great many Bishops, whom he had assembled for that Purpose, telling him with an Air of Authority, that he presented to him his lawful Wife, in the Name of the Prince of the Apostles, and the sovereign Pontiff his Vicar; that if, unmindful of his Oath, he refused to take her back, if he ever parted with her again, or persecuted her anew as he had hitherto done, in Defiance of the most sacred Laws human and divine, he declared him excommunicated in this World, and eternally damned in the other. *Lotharius* was, as we may well imagine, highly provoked at the haughty and imperious Behaviour of the Legate; but, dissembling the Indignation it raised in his Breast, as he knew that the King his Uncle, and the whole Court, favoured the Queen, he offered her his Hand with a cheerful Countenance, declaring, that he was ready to comply in all Things with the Directions of the holy Pope *Nicholas* <sup>i</sup>.

The Legate, having thus happily executed the chief Commission he was charged with, published, before he left *Attigni*, a Letter from the Pope, fraught with most dreadful Curses, such, says the *Bertinian* Annalist, as had never before been heard in *France*, against certain Persons, who had robbed the Legate of a considerable Sum of Money some Years before, if they did not restore it. At the same time he thundered out anew, in the Pope's Name, the Sentence of Excommunication against *Ingeltrude* the Wife of Count *Boso*; who, abandoning her Husband, as has been related above, had taken Re-

<sup>i</sup> Annal. Bertin. & Metens. ibid.

Nicholas.

# BISHOPS of Rome.

315

fuge, with her Adulterer, in the Kingdom of *Lorraine*. The Legate, availing himself of the great Regard shewn by *Charles* for the Apostolic See, demanded, and obtained of him, the Restitution of certain Lands that *Lewis the Debonnair* had formerly granted to St. *Peter*, and a Count, named *Wido*, had possessed for many Years <sup>k</sup>. On this Occasion, *Arsenius* presented *Rothade* to the King, and warmly recommended him, in the Name of his Holiness, to his Protection and Favour; and he governed the Church of *Soissons* in Peace and Tranquillity to the Hour of his Death.

Year of  
Christ 865.

From *Attigni* the Legate set out, in the Month of *August* of the present Year 865, with the King of *Lorraine* and Queen *Theutberga*, for *Gondreville*, a Royal Palace belonging to that Prince on the *Moselle*. Upon their Arrival there, *Arsenius*, encouraged by the Success that had hitherto attended him, and more by the Dread the King stood in of the Excommunication, with which he was threatened, insisted on his publicly repairing the Scandal he had publicly given by putting away his lawful Wife, and marrying another Woman in her room. To this too the King consented, much against his Will; and on the 15th of *August*, the Festival of the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary* (R), the Legate said Mass with great Solemnity; and the King and Queen assisted at it in their Royal Habits and their Crowns, attended by the Bishops, and all the Grandees of the Kingdom <sup>l</sup>.

Theutberga  
reinstated in  
her Dignity.

<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

(R) The Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, in Soul and Body, into Heaven, was never heard of till the Eighth Century, the Abbot *Authpertus*, who died in 778, being the First who spoke of it, and used the Word *Assumption*: And from his Words it appears, that, in his Time, some believed that she was assumed in her Body, and some that she was assumed out of it, *five in corpore*, says he, *five extra corpus assumptam super caelos credamus* (1). However, that she was assumed in Soul and Body into Heaven is now generally believed in the Church of *Rome*; and woe to the Man who should assert the contrary in *Spain* or in *Italy*, tho' it has not the least Foundation in the sacred Writings, in those of the Fathers of the first Eight Centuries, or in History. The Reader will find in

*Pellart*, who wrote in the Fifteenth Century, and dedicated his Book to Pope *Sixtus IV.* a very particular and curious Account of the Death of the Virgin *Mary*, at which assisted all the Apostles, conveyed on white Clouds to her House from the different Corners of the Earth; of her Resurrection, and her Assumption into Heaven in Soul and Body. As she was thus assumed, we have no Reliques of her besides her Milk; but of that there is such a Quantity, as sufficiently supplies the Want of all other Reliques. As to the Passage in the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, and the Pieces ascribed to St. *Austin*, to St. *Jerom*, and to *Dionysius the Areopagite*, wherein mention is made of the Assumption, they are now universally allowed to be spurious.

(1) Vit. S. Ambros. Authpert. apud Mabil. sect. iii. Benedict. part. ii.

Year of  
Christ 865.

The Legate  
sets out with  
Waldrada  
on his Return  
to Rome.

Ingeltrude  
joins them;

but soon  
leaves them,  
and is excom-  
municated  
after.

The Legate was not yet satisfied; but apprehending that the Presence of *Waldrada* would soon rekindle the King's Passion, and make him forget all his good Resolutions, he ordered her to attend him to *Rome*, to be there absolved by the Pope from the heinous Sin she was guilty of in living with the King as his Wife. *Waldrada*, awed by the Anathema with which the Legate threatened her, durst not disobey; and *Lotharius* had the Mortification to see her set out with the Legate on her Journey to *Rome*. *Arsenius* passed, in his Return to *Italy*, through *Germany* and *Bavaria*, to recover, by the Favour of King *Lewis*, some Patrimonies of St. *Peter* that lay in those Countries. He found the King at *Worms*; and there *Ingeltrude*, being driven by *Lotharius* from his Dominions, unexpectedly presented herself before him, in order to go with him to *Rome*, and there obtain of the Pope, by his Mediation, Absolution from the Excommunication he had twice thundered out against her. At *Worms* she took the following Oath, in the Presence of the Legate, and probably at his Request: "I *Ingeltrude*, Daughter of the late  
" Count *Mattefrid*, and Wife of Count *Boso*, swear to you Lord  
" *Arsenius* Bishop, Envoy, and *Apocrisarius* of the holy Catholic and  
" Apostolic See, and in you to my Lord *Nicholas*, sovereign Pontiff  
" and universal Pope; I swear, I say, by the Father, by the Son, by  
" the Holy Ghost, and by the Four holy Gospels, which I kiss with  
" my Mouth, and touch with my Hands, that I shall quit the wicked  
" Life I have led to the Disgrace of the above-mentioned *Boso* my  
" Husband; shall return, like a strayed Sheep, to the Fold of the  
" Catholic Church, upon such Terms as it shall please my Lord  
" *Nicholas*, sovereign Pontiff and universal Pope, to prescribe; shall  
" travel into *Italy*, either before you or with you, as you shall think  
" proper; and shall comply in all things with the Injunctions of  
" my Apostolic Lord.<sup>m</sup>" *Arsenius* chose she should go with him, flattering himself that he should enter *Rome* in a kind of Triumph, being attended with Two such illustrious Penitents. But his Vanity was disappointed; *Ingeltrude* attended him no farther than the *Danube*; for her Heart failing her as they were upon the point of crossing that River, she forgot her Oath, and, under colour of visiting a Relation in that Neighbourhood, who, she said, would furnish her with Horses to pursue her Journey, she left the Legate, assuring him that she would meet him at *Augsburg*. But, instead of

keeping her Appointment, she returned to *France*; which *Arsenius* no sooner knew, than he wrote to all the Bishops of *France* and *Germany* to acquaint them with her Flight, notwithstanding the Oath she had taken, and require them, in the Name of St. *Peter*, and of the sovereign Pontiff and universal Pope *Nicholas*, not to admit her into their Dioceses, but to declare her excommunicated and anathematized for the Breach of her Oath, as well as for her other Crimes, till she appeared in Person before the Pope, and was absolved by his Holiness himself<sup>n</sup>. What became of her afterwards we know not, no further mention being made of her in History.

Year of  
Christ 865.

As for *Waldrada* the other Penitent, she pursued her Journey with the Legate as far as *Lombardy*. But when she was there upon the point of setting out from *Pavia* in her Way to *Rome*, she received a Letter from *Lotharius*, ordering her, as he could no longer bear her Absence, to return with all Speed to his Dominions. Upon the Receipt of that Letter, which the Messenger privately delivered to her, pursuant to his Instructions, her good Resolutions all vanished in an Instant; and leaving the Legate abruptly, she hastened back to *Lorraine*. *Arsenius*, thus disappointed of his expected Triumph, entered *Rome* alone, and gave an Account of the Whole to the Pope; who, no less provoked than he at the Behaviour of the Two pretended Penitents, immediately confirmed the Excommunication of *Ingeltrude*, and, on the Second of *February* 866, solemnly and excommunicated *Waldrada*, and transmitted to all the Bishops of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, the Sentence he had pronounced against her, ordering them to publish it in their respective Dioceses. He tells the Bishops in his Letter, that tho' *Lotharius* is no less guilty than *Waldrada*, yet he has not excommunicated him, for just Reasons, which he is not obliged to communicate to them, the Apostolic See, that is trusted with the Care of all Churches, being accountable to none for its Conduct<sup>o</sup>.

*Waldrada*  
recalled by  
*Lotharius*,

and excom-  
municated by  
the Pope.

*Lotharius*, hearing of the Excommunication of *Waldrada*, and apprehending that the Pope might be brought at last, by his Enemies and the Queen's Friends, to pronounce the same Sentence against him, got *Adventius* Bishop of *Metz* to write to his Holiness in his favour; and the Letter the aged Bishop wrote, plainly shews him to have been as simple a Man as any of his Time, or as great a Sycophant; for, in that Letter, he assured the Pope, that the King had

*Adventius*  
writes to the  
Pope in fa-  
vour of *Lo-*  
*tharius*.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Nicol. ep. 49.



Year of  
Christ 866.

Lotharius  
writes to him  
at the same  
time.

had no Intercourse or Correspondence with *Waldrada* since the Departure of *Arsenius*; that he earnestly and constantly exhorted her to comply with the Injunctions of his Holiness; that he treated *Theutberga* in every respect as his lawful Wife; that he assisted with her at divine Service, admitted her, as he ought, to his Table and his Bed, and shewed, on all Occasions, an intire Submission to the Authority of the Apostolic See <sup>p</sup>. The Direction of this Letter was, *To the most holy, most blessed and angelic Lord Nicholas, sovereign Pontiff, and universal Pope*. *Lotharius* himself wrote, and sent by the Chancellor *Grimlandus*, a very submissive Letter to the Pope, more submissive than was consistent with his Dignity; for, in that Letter, *prostrate at his Holiness's Feet*, he professes an unreserved Obedience to the Orders of the Apostolic See; humbly beseeches the Pope not to raise his Equals above him (meaning, as appears from the Context, not to excommunicate him, which would afford his Uncles a Pretence to invade his Dominions); and declares, that he will be subject to none but to God, to St. *Peter*, and to his holy Lord and Father Pope *Nicholas*. As for *Waldrada*, he solemnly protests that he has never been in her Company, nor so much as seen her, since the Departure of *Arsenius*, and her Return from *Italy*; and gives the Lye to any who shall say that he has <sup>q</sup>.

*Lotharius* flattered himself that he should thus impose upon the Pope. But *Nicholas* was, in the mean time, informed by several Persons worthy of Credit, that the King met *Waldrada* in private; that he persecuted the Queen more cruelly than he had ever yet done; and that, blinded by his Passion, he seemed determined to remove her out of the Way by some Means or other, and make room for *Waldrada*, pretending that she, and not *Theutberga*, was his lawful Wife. Hereupon the Queen, apprehending her Life to be in Danger, wrote to the Pope to acquaint him therewith, and at the same time to beg Leave, as she saw no End of her Troubles, to resign her Dignity; to yield her Place to *Waldrada*; and spend the rest of her Days in Retirement. To induce the Pope to comply with her Request, she even pretended in her Letter, that the King had married *Waldrada* before he married her; and consequently that he could not live with her as his lawful Wife, nor she with him as her lawful Husband. But the Pope well knew, that it was only to gratify the

The Queen  
writes to the  
Pope for  
Leave to re-  
sign her Dig-  
nity,

<sup>p</sup> Apud Baron. ad ann. 866. n. 31, & seq.

<sup>q</sup> Apud Baron. ad ann. 866. n. 38,

& seq.

King, and purchase some Respite from her Troubles, that she wrote <sup>which he re-</sup> thus, and turned Evidence against herself: He therefore told her, in <sup>fuses.</sup> his Answer to her Letter, that he did not receive her Confession, <sup>Year of</sup> <sup>Christ 867.</sup> having been assured by several Persons no less eminent for their Rank than their Piety, that it was not voluntary, but extorted by Menaces; reproached her with want of Courage in thus yielding to her adverse Fortune, in betraying her own Cause, and owning herself guilty when she was conscious of her Innocence; exhorted her to speak the Truth at all Events, since she had better suffer Death by the Hand of another for speaking it, than kill her own Soul by departing from it. He added, that were he to admit her Confession, and declare her Marriage null, every Husband, who disliked his Wife, would be thereby encouraged to use her ill, in order to extort from her by that means the like Confession; that should he even grant her leave to quit *Lotharius*, their Marriage would not therefore be dissolved, nor could the King marry *Waldrada*, or any other Woman, in her Life-time; and that she must not think of living in a married State as if she were not married, unless the King solemnly promised to live so too. The Queen had begged the Pope's Leave to come to *Rome*, and unburden her Mind in Person to his Holiness. But he, not thinking it proper that she should be at such a Distance from the King while *Waldrada* was so near him, would not allow her to undertake that Journey, unless the King sent *Waldrada* to *Rome* before her. This Letter is dated the 24th of *January* 867.

The Pope wrote at the same time to *Charles* of *France*, to the <sup>The Pope</sup> <sup>writes to</sup> <sup>Charles of</sup> <sup>France, to</sup> <sup>Lotharius,</sup> <sup>and the Bi-</sup> <sup>shops of his</sup> <sup>Kingdom.</sup> Bishops of *Lotharius's* Kingdom, and to *Lotharius* himself. In his Letter to *Charles*, he commends him for his Generosity in taking the persecuted Queen into his Protection, and exhorts him to continue to her the same Protection, till it shall please God to put an End to so cruel and so unjust a Persecution. He reproaches the Bishops, in his Letter to them, with an unpardonable Neglect of their Duty in not seconding him in his Endeavours to reclaim their King from his Wickedness; assures them, that he did not grant *Waldrada* Leave to return to *France*, as was, it seems, reported; declares her excommunicated for the Third time; and threatens to pronounce the same Sentence against them as Abettors of Adultery, if they continued to connive, as they have hitherto done, at the Scandal which it was

\* Nicol. ep. 48.

\* Idem, ep. 50 Annal. Bertin.

Year of  
Christ 864.

their indispensable Duty to remove <sup>t</sup> (S). From the Pope's Letter to *Lotharius* it appears, that the King laid great Stress on the Confession of the Queen owning that *Waldrada* was his First, and consequently his only lawful Wife. But, in Answer to that, the Pope tells him in his Letter, that all *France* knew *Theutberga* was his First and only lawful Wife; and that the Confession she had made was not voluntary, but extorted by Force and by Menaces; entreats him to lay aside all Thoughts of putting her away, and marrying any other in her room, since the Apostolic See, he might depend upon it, never would consent to the one or the other; expresses great Concern at the King's attempting thus to impose upon him, and, in the end, threatens him with Excommunication, if he did not break off all Correspondence with *Waldrada* as an excommunicated Person, and repair the Scandal he had given <sup>u</sup>.

Adventius's  
Letter to  
Hatto of  
Verdun.

*Adventius* of Metz, hearing that the Pope had threatened the King with Excommunication, and being at the same time informed, that it was the fixed and unalterable Resolution of the Apostolic Lord *Nicholas* to exclude him from entering into the Church, if he did not dismiss *Waldrada* by the Eve of the Purification, wrote, under the greatest Concern, to *Hatto* of *Verdun*, his intimate Friend, earnestly entreating him to repair without Delay to the King, to apprise him of his Danger, and persuade him to ask Pardon for his past Offences, in the Presence of at least Three Bishops, with a firm Resolution and Promise to mend his Life in time to come, that, being thus absolved, he might enter the Church, and celebrate the Festival, without exposing, as he otherwise would, himself and his Kingdom, as well as them, to irretrievable Ruin. He desires his Brother *Hatto* to tell the King, that as for his Sin against God, or his public Adultery, he has no Occasion to make himself uneasy about it, God having promised by his Prophet to forgive the Sinner the Moment he repents of his Sin. The good Bishop seems to have thought it Matter of more Importance to obtain of the Pope than of God Forgiveness of his Sin. He tells his Brother, that he has thus written

<sup>t</sup> Idem, ep. 49.

<sup>u</sup> Idem, ep. 51.

(S) What Opinion must we entertain of the Bishops of *Lotharius's* Kingdom, among whom not one was found, who had Courage or Zeal enough to say unto the King, with the Words of the Baptist, *It is not lawful for thee to have her; nay,*

not one who did not prostitute his sacred Character to his lawless Lust, and countenance him in a Crime that gave such Offence to the honest Laity, especially to the Princes of the Royal Family.

to him *sub sigillo confessionis*, under the Seal of Confession; and therefore conjures him to shew his Letter to none but the King, and to suggest such Counsels to him, as may rescue from imminent Ruin both him and them <sup>u</sup>. *Adventius* apprehended, that, if the King was excommunicated, his Uncles would be thereby encouraged to invade his Dominions, which would involve the whole Kingdom in the utmost Confusion, and end, in all Likelihood, in his Ruin.

Year of  
Christ 867.

The Pope, however, did not think it adviseable to proceed to such Extremities, the rather as a perfect Harmony subsisted between the Emperor *Lewis* and *Lotharius*, tho' *Lewis* was no less offended than his Uncles at the Conduct of his Brother in the Affair of *Theutberga* and *Waldrada*, and had frequently pressed him to dismiss the one, and be reconciled to the other. *Nicholas*, therefore, unwilling to disoblige the Emperor, contented himself with writing most pressing Letters to the Two Kings *Lewis* and *Charles*, entreating them to interpose their good Offices anew with the King of *Lorraine*, to employ such Means to reclaim him, as should appear to them the most effectual, and in particular to assure him in his Name, that what Declarations soever he might force from *Theutberga*, he would ever oppose, with all the Authority of the Apostolic See, his marrying any other <sup>w</sup>.

What restrained the Pope from excommunicating Lotharius.

Upon the Receipt of these Letters, the Two Kings had an Interview, the Result of which was, that *Charles* should go and communicate them in Person to the King of *Lorraine*; that he should represent to him, in the strongest Terms, the Obligation he was under of removing the Scandal his Treatment of *Theutberga* had given to all good Men, and entreat him, in the Name of both, to satisfy the Pope, since he could entertain no Hopes of ever prevailing upon his Holiness to approve of, or even to connive at, a Conduct which he had so often and so loudly condemned. *Charles* and *Lotharius* met, by Appointment, on the Borders of their respective Kingdoms, the former being attended on that Occasion by a Bishop. But their Meeting had not the wished-for Success; *Lotharius* chiefly insisted on the Declaration of the Queen, which he maintained not to have been forced, as had been represented by his Enemies to the Pope, but quite free and voluntary, as she, who ought to be credited before them, had publicly owned; complained as much of the unworthy Treatment he had met with from the Pope, as the Pope complained

Lewis of Germany and Charles of France endeavour to reclaim Lotharius.

<sup>u</sup> Apud Baron. ad ann. 867. n. 121.

<sup>w</sup> Nicol. ep. 53.

Year of  
Christ 867.

Who writes  
most submis-  
sive Letters  
to the Pope;

of the Treatment *Theutberga* had met with from him; protested, that, to gratify his Holiness, he had never suffered *Waldrada* to approach the Court; that he had never seen her since her Return from *Italy*. He added, that his Enemies made it their Business to sow the Seeds of Discord between him and the other Princes of the Royal Family; that they had misrepresented the whole Affair both to them and the Pope: But that he was determined to go to *Rome*, and treat with his Holiness in Person, not doubting but he should be able to undeceive him, and confound his Enemies <sup>x</sup>. With this his Intention he acquainted the Pope by a most submissive Letter, entreating him, in the mean time, not to hearken to the Suggestions of those, who strove to estrange his Holiness from him, and raise by that means Disturbances in his Kingdom. As a numerous Body of *Saracens* had lately landed in *Italy*, and committed dreadful Ravages there, he offered, in the same Letter, to join his Forces to those of the Emperor against the common Enemy, to head them in Person, and defend, if necessary, even at the Expence of his Life, the Patrimonies of St. *Peter* <sup>y</sup>. But the Pope well knew, that he wrote thus only to amuse him; that he still continued to correspond privately with *Waldrada* excommunicated as she was; that she governed with an absolute Sway both him and his Kingdom, while *Theutberga* had but the empty Title and bare Name of Queen. He therefore desired the Two Kings, in his Answer to their Letter, to divert by all means the King of *Lorraine* their Nephew from his intended Journey to *Rome*, till he had given such Proofs of the Sincerity of his Reformation, as left no room to question it, lest he should not meet with the Reception he expected <sup>z</sup>. The Proofs required by the Pope were, that he should not only break off all Correspondence with *Waldrada*, but send her to *Rome*; that he should treat *Theutberga* so as to satisfy all *France* that he looked upon her as his lawful Wife; and that, to leave no Hopes to *Gunthier* and *Theutgaud*, who had countenanced him in his Adultery, of being ever restored, he should cause others to be chosen for the still vacant Sees of *Treves* and *Cologne* in their room (L). These Terms seemed too hard to

<sup>x</sup> Idem, ep. 55.    <sup>y</sup> Apud Baron. ad ann. 867. n. 123, & seq.    <sup>z</sup> Nicol. ep. 53.

(L) *Hugh*, nearly related to *Charles* of *France*, had been nominated by *Lotharius* for the See of *Cologne*, as has been said above; but that Nomination did not, it seems, take place. Indeed the Sword and the Helmet better became the Abbot *Hugh*, as he is commonly siled, than the Crozier and the Mitre.

*Lothar*

Nicholas.

BISHOPS of Rome.

323

*Lotharius*; and therefore, laying aside all Thoughts of his Journey to *Rome*, he continued, during the short Time Pope *Nicholas* lived, to ward off, with most submissive and respectful Letters and Pro-  
testations, the Sentence of Excommunication with which he was threatened. What was the Issue of this Affair, we shall see in the Pontificate of the succeeding Pope.

Year of  
Christ 867.

and thus  
wards off the  
Sentence with  
which he was  
threatened.

From the great Pains the Pope took in the Affair of *Lotharius*, and the numberless Letters he wrote relating to it, one would conclude that it had engrossed his whole Attention; but he had at the same time many other Matters on his Hands that required no less Attention, Resolution, and Address; and among the rest, what he most of all laboured to bring about, as it would most of all redound to the Honour of his See, the Restoration of the Patriarch *Ignatius*. *Nicholas* had, as we have seen\*, in a Council held at *Rome* in 863, solemnly excommunicated *Photius* as an Usurper, with all his Adherents, and declared *Ignatius* to have never been deposed, but only driven with Violence and unjustly from the Patriarchal See.

With this Sentence the Pope designed to acquaint the Emperor *Michael*, and had already written a Letter giving him an Account of the Proceedings of that Council. But, in the mean time, the Emperor was by others informed of the Whole; and, before the Legates set out for *Constantinople* with the Pope's Letter to him, *Michael* the Protospatharius arrived at *Rome* with one from him to the Pope, fraught with Invectives, Reproaches, and Menaces. The Pope happened to be greatly indisposed when he received the Emperor's Letter; and the Protospatharius, impatient to return as the Winter approached, left *Rome*, without taking Leave, soon after he delivered it, insomuch that the Pope was obliged, ill as he was, to write his Answer in great Haste, and send it after him to *Ostia*. The Emperor's Letter has not been suffered to reach our Times; but what it chiefly turned upon we learn from the very long Letter the Pope wrote in Answer to it, notwithstanding his Illness, and the Hurry in which he wrote it. He begins it with an Address to Heaven, beseeching the Almighty, in whose Hand is the King's Heart, to suggest to him what may make an Impression on the Mind of the Emperor, and at the same time to dispose his Mind to receive that Impression, and profit by it. He then proceeds to answer, one by one, the various Articles, or, as he styles them, Blasphemies against God

The Emperor  
*Michael*  
writes to the  
Pope concern-  
ing the Affair  
of *Photius*.

The Pope's  
Answer to  
his Letter.

\* See above, p. 291.

Year of  
Christ 867.

and St. Peter, contained in his Letter. *Michael* had, it seems, complained of the Treatment he had met with from the Apostolic See, tho' no Emperor, since the Time of the Sixth General Council had, as he pretended, honoured and respected those who sat in it, however worthless, more than he. In Answer to that Complaint, the Pope tells him, that it is quite groundless; that he has on no Occasion used him ill, but only admonished and rebuked him for the Welfare of his Soul, which it was incumbent upon him to do, as well as upon every other Bishop; and that, as to the Respect and Regard he had shewn for the Apostolic See, some of his Predecessors, even since the Sixth Council, had not been wanting therein no more than he; but that most of them were Heretics, with whom the holy See could not communicate, nor have any Interchange. The Emperor, alluding to one of his former Letters to the Pope, had said, *we commanded you*, &c. That Word was grating to the Ears of the haughty Pope *Nicholas*; and, in his Answer, he pretends the Words *we pray*, *we entreat*, *we exhort*, to have been used by other Emperors in writing to the Popes, and by none of them the imperious Expression *we command* (S); nay, he maintains the Words *we beg and conjure*, and not *we command*, to have been made use of by *Michael* himself in the very Letter he quotes; and concludes, that he either does not know what he wrote, or repents of his laudable Submission and Humility. The Emperor had called the *Latin* Tongue a barbarous and *Scythic* Language; which the Pope highly resented, gravely reproaching him with having reviled, in the Height of his Fury, a Language instituted by God, and made use of in the Inscription on the Cross. He adds, that if he despises, because he does not understand the *Latin* Tongue, it is quite absurd and ridiculous that he should be stiled Emperor of the *Romans*, who is utterly ignorant of the Language of the *Romans*; that the Language he takes the Liberty to brand with the Epithets of barbarous and *Scythic*, is used in divine Service by the whole *Latin* Church, nay, and by the *Greek* Church too, the Epistles and Gospels being read in *Latin* in the Stations at *Constantinople* (T), before they are read in *Greek*.

The

(S) *Baronius* himself owns the Words *we command* to have been used by the Emperor *Mauritius* in writing to the Pope; and ascribes all the Misfortunes that befel him, and his unhappy End, to his having used it (2).

(T) By *Stations* are meant the Assemblies of the Faithful on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*;

The Emperor had said, that it was not to judge *Ignatius* anew, but to determine the Dispute about Images, that he had commanded the Pope to send Legates to *Constantinople*. *Nicholas* answers, that the Event proves the contrary; that *Ignatius* was actually judged anew in the Presence of his Legates; and that it was for that Purpose, but under colour of the Dispute about Images, that he was desired to send them to *Constantinople*. He enlarges here on the unjust and irregular Proceedings of the Council that condemned *Ignatius*; declares, that his Legates acted contrary to their Instructions in consenting to his Condemnation; and maintains, that there is scarce an Instance of a Bishop of *Constantinople* being deposed, unless by Heretics or Tyrants, without the Knowledge, the Approbation, and the Concurrence of the *Roman* Pontiff. In Answer to what the Emperor had advanced against the Pre-eminence, Primacy, and Privileges of the *Roman* See, the Pope tells him, that those Privileges have not been granted by the Councils, but by Christ himself to St. *Peter*, and in him to his Successors in the *Roman* See; that the Councils have only acknowledged and revered them (U); that they are perpetual, immutable, and will remain, in spite of all human Efforts, so long as the Christian Name shall be preached in the World. The Emperor wanted the Pope to send back to *Constantinople* the Monk *Theognostus*, and other Monks Friends to the deposed Patriarch, who had taken Refuge at *Rome*. But the Pope, after shewing the Unreasonableness of such a Demand, assures the Emperor, that he has no Cause to complain of *Theognostus*, nor of the other Monks, who have told him nothing but what he had heard before from many others come from *Alexandria*, from *Jerusalem*, from *Constantinople*, &c. nay, and from his own Embassadors, and what all the World knew to be true. As to the Emperor's Menaces, for he had threat-

Year of  
Christ 867.

*Fridays*; for these Two Days were particularly sanctified from the earliest Times; *Wednesday*, because on that Day the *Jews* conspired to put our Saviour to Death; and *Friday*, because he suffered on that Day (3). On both Days the Service began early, and did not end till Three in the Afternoon; and from the Length of the Service those Assemblies were called *Stations*, and the Days, on which they were held, *Stationary Days*.

(U) That no Privileges were granted to St. *Peter*, but what were common to the other Apostles with him; that all Bishops were originally alike absolute and independent in their own Churches; and that the Privileges, Prerogatives, and Pre-eminence, which, in After-ages, some Bishops enjoyed over others, were granted to them by the Councils, or were a free Gift of the Emperors; has been shewn in many Places of this History (4).

(3) Tertul. de jejun. c. 14. Orig. hom. 10. in Levit. Petr. Alexandrin. can. 15, &c. (4) See Vol. II. p. 79, 80, 81, 82. 87. & alibi passim.



Year of  
Christ 867.

ened the City of *Rome* with utter Destruction, if the Sentence against *Photius* was not revoked; the Pope bids him Defiance, telling him, that the Angels watch over the Safety of *Rome*, and putting him in mind of *Sennacherib* and his numerous Army. As the *Saracens* had lately invaded *Crete*, had ravaged *Sicily*, had made themselves Masters of several Provinces belonging to the *Greeks*, and even set fire to the Suburbs of *Constantinople*; the Pope takes Occasion from thence to reproach the Emperor with Injustice and Cowardice, in tamely suffering himself to be thus insulted by the Enemies of the Christian Name, and threatening to wreak his Vengeance upon him and the unarmed *Romans*, who have done him no Injury. This, says the Pope, is acting like the *Jews*, who discharged the Murderer, and condemned the Author of Life, released *Barabbas*, and put *Jesus* to Death.

The Pope  
proposes the  
sending of  
*Ignatius* and  
*Photius* to  
*Rome*.

The Pope, having thus answered the chief Heads of the Emperor's Letter, comes to the Case of *Ignatius*, which, though already fully examined, and even determined by the unbiassed Judgment of the Apostolic See, he declares himself willing to examine anew, and has the Assurance to desire the Emperor to send for that Purpose both *Ignatius* and *Photius* to *Rome*, and, together with them, the Bishops who adhered to the one and the other. In the Close of his Letter, he exhorts the Emperor to tread in the Footsteps of his pious Predecessors *Constantine*, *Constans*, *Theodosius* the elder, *Valentinian*, &c. who made it their Study to exalt, honour, and enrich the *Roman* Church, and have thereby acquired immortal Fame; declares, that, as he has been trusted with the Care of all Churches, he will not neglect that of *Constantinople*; that he never will suffer the Patriarchal See of the Imperial City to be polluted by an Usurper; that no Menaces shall ever deter him from complying with his Duty; and that he is determined to stand up, to his last Breath, in Defence of Truth and injured Innocence. To this Letter he adds the following Postscript: "Whoever shall read this our Letter at *Constantinople*, and conceal any Part of it from our most august Son *Michael*, let him be anathema: Whoever, in translating the said Letter, shall alter any thing in it, shall add to it, or take any thing from it besides what the *Greek* Idiom requires, unless it be done through Ignorance, let him be anathema b."

b Nicol. ep. 8.

This Letter the Pope consigned to the Protospatharius returning to *Constantinople*; but apprehending that it might be either intirely suppressed or falsified, as had happened to most of his Letters, by the Friends of *Photius*, he resolved, with the Advice of the neighbouring Bishops, to write another and send it by Legates, who should deliver it into the Emperor's own Hands. For that dangerous Legation *Nicholas* chose *Donatus* Bishop of *Ostia*, *Leo* Presbyter, and *Marinus* Deacon of the *Roman* Church; and by them he wrote not only to the Emperor, but to the Bishops and Clergy subject to the See of *Constantinople*, to *Photius*, to *Bardas* (X), to *Ignatius*, to the Empreſſes *Theodora* and *Eudoxia*, the one the Mother, the other the Wife of the Emperor, and to such of the Senate as befriended *Ignatius* c. These Eight Letters bear all the same Date, the 13th of *November* 866. The Pope, in his Letter to the Emperor, warmly recommends the Legates to his Protection, as representing the Vicar of St. *Peter*, and in him St. *Peter* himself; maintains the Ordination of *Photius* by *Gregory* of *Syracuse*, who had been deposed, and was no longer a Bishop, to be null; puts him in mind of the Account he was to give on the last Day for supporting an Usurper on the Episcopal Throne, who has no Power to perform any Episcopal Functions; declares his unalterable Resolution of acknowledging *Ignatius* for lawful Patriarch, till the Apostolic See shall judge, condemn, and depose him; exhorts the Emperor to disown the blasphemous Letter he sent him by his Embassador *Michael*, and order it to be publicly burnt, otherwise he will excommunicate the Authors of it in a Council of all the Bishops of the West, and cause the Letter itself, as he cannot put up so gross an Affront offered to the Pontifical Dignity, to be fixed to a Stake, and thus burnt, to his Shame and Disgrace, in Sight of the different Nations that flock from all

Year of  
Christ 867.

He sends Legates into the East with several Letters.

c Nicol. ep. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

(X) *Bardas* was murdered by Order of the Emperor *Michael*, grown jealous of his Power, on the 21st of *April* of the present Year, as *Porphyrogenetus* informs us (4). But the News of his Death had not reached *Rome* in the Month of *November*, when the Pope wrote to him. The Death of *Bardas* made room for *Basilus*, the chief Author of it, and at that time great Cham-

berlain; for as *Michael* had an utter Aversion to all manner of Business, and spent his whole Time in Sports and Banquets, he immediately committed the Management of public Affairs to *Basilus*; and soon after, that is, on the Festival of *Whitsunday*, which, in 866, fell on the 26th of *May*, declared him his Partner in the Empire (5).

(4) *Porphyrogen.* n. 42.

(5) *Idem*, n. 42.

Year of  
Christ 867.

Parts of the World to the Tomb of St. *Peter*. The Pope, in his Letter to the Bishops under the See of *Constantinople*, and the Clergy of that City, acquaints them with the whole Proceedings of the Council of *Rome* in the Affair of *Ignatius* and *Photius*, and loudly complains of the Practice of raising Laymen to the Episcopal Dignity, a Practice, he says, countenanced by Princes, as Laymen are more apt to connive at their wicked Lives than those who are brought up in the Discipline and Service of the Church. He reproaches *Photius*, in his Letter to him, with his numerous Prevarications, which he enumerates, and exhorts him to atone for by a sincere and timely Repentance. He tells *Bardas*, that he is said to have been the chief Author of the Expulsion of *Ignatius*, and of all the Evils attending it; expresses great Concern at his not answering the good Opinion he had entertained of him; and exhorts him to repair the Mischief he has done by espousing the Cause of the lawful Patriarch, and withdrawing his Protection from the Usurper of his See. Happy *Bardas*, says here *Baronius*, had he hearkened to the fatherly Exhortation of the Pope; but he disregarded it, and *therefore* Vengeance from Heaven soon overtook him<sup>d</sup>. But the Murder of *Bardas*, the Vengeance from Heaven which the Annalist here speaks of, happened, as we have seen, near Seven Months before the Pope wrote his exhortatory Letter. The Pope, in his Letter to *Ignatius*, acquaints him with what he has done in his favour; assures him that he never will forsake him; and encourages him to bear his Sufferings with the same Patience and Resignation as he has hitherto done, till it shall please God to relieve him. He comforts the Empress *Theodora* confined, as has been said, to a Monastery, telling her, that the Time is come when *Children shall rise up against their Parents*; but that, by patiently bearing the Loss of a temporal Kingdom, she will earn an eternal one; recommends his Legates to the Empress *Eudoxia*; and repeats, in his Letter to the Friends of *Ignatius* in the Senate, what he wrote to the Bishops and the Clergy subject to the See of *Constantinople*.

The Legates  
not admitted.

With these Letters the Three above-mentioned Legates set out for *Constantinople*; but as they travelled by Land, in Company with Two other Legates sent at the same time into *Bulgaria* (of which Legation I shall speak in the Sequel) they no sooner entered the Territories of the Empire bordering upon that Country; than *Theodore*,

<sup>d</sup> Baron. ad ann. 866. n. 14.

who

Nicholas.

BISHOPS of Rome.

329

who guarded those Frontiers, meeting them, and striking the Heads of their Horses, an Affront which the Bibliothecarian cannot digest, told them, that *the Emperor did not want them*, and they might therefore return home. However, they did not return till they were informed, and they waited Forty Days for that Purpose, that they were stopt by the Emperor's Order. Indeed it happened fortunately for them that they passed through *Bulgaria*; for the Emperor told the King of *Bulgaria's* Embassadors, that, if they had not come through their Country, they should never have seen him, nor *Rome* again so long as they lived. Such was the Issue of this Second Legation; and thus was all Intercourse now broken off between *Constantinople* and *Rome*.

Year of  
Christ 867.

In the mean time *Photius*, now determined to keep no Measures with the Pope, proposed to the Emperor *Michael* the assembling a Council at *Constantinople*, in order to judge, depose, and excommunicate *Nicholas* with the same Solemnity as he had judged, deposed, and excommunicated him in a Council at *Rome*. To this Proposal the Emperor readily agreed; and a Council accordingly met by his Order, consisting of several Bishops under the immediate Jurisdiction of the See of *Constantinople*, and some obscure Persons, who called themselves the Legates of the Three other great Sees, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*. Before this Assembly Accusers appeared, who arraigning Pope *Nicholas* of many Crimes, and deploring his Wickedness, applied to the holy œcumenical Council for Justice. Witnesses were likewise produced to attest what the Accusers had laid to his Charge. But *Photius*, pretending to take the Pope's Part, urged in his favour, that no Man ought to be judged while he is absent. But his Reasons being answered, as was agreed before-hand, by the Bishops of his Party, the Pope was judged, was found guilty of innumerable Crimes, was solemnly deposed as altogether unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, and excommunicated, with all who should communicate with him. The Acts of this Council were signed by a very small Number of Bishops, and the pretended Legates of the Three above-mentioned Sees; but to their Signatures *Photius* added those of both Emperors, *Michael* and *Basilus*, of the whole Senate, of a great many Bishops who had never heard of that Council, of almost all the Abbots in the East, and of a vast Number of Ecclesiastics of all Ranks and Degrees, in order to send the Acts

*Photius ex-communicates and deposes the Pope in a Council.*

• Anast. in Nicol.

Year of  
Christ 867.

thus signed to the Pope <sup>f</sup>. In the same Acts he caused Acclamations to be inserted in Honour of the Emperor *Lewis* and his Wife *Ingelberga*; and in those Acclamations he gave the Title of Emperor to *Lewis*, and to *Ingelberga* that of Empress, and of a Second *Pulcheria*, flattering himself, that, by distinguishing them with those Titles, he should bias them in his favour, as the *Greeks* had hitherto looked upon the Emperors of the West only as Kings, and given them no other Title.

Photius  
charges the  
Roman  
Church with  
erroneous  
Doctrines  
and Practices  
condemned by  
the Canons.

*Photius*, not satisfied with thus condemning, excommunicating, and deposing the Pope, wrote a circulatory Letter to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the other Patriarchs and Bishops of the East, charging the *Roman* Church with several erroneous Doctrines, and various Practices countenanced by the Popes, but repugnant to the Decrees and the Canons of the Church universal. These are, I. At *Rome* they fast on *Saturdays*, by a manifest Breach of the Sixty-fourth Canon of the Apostles, deposing such Clerks as should fast on *Saturdays*, except the *Saturday* before *Easter day*, or on *Sundays*, and excommunicating Laymen; and likewise of the Fifty-fifth Canon of the Sixth œcumenical Council, censuring the *Roman* Church for fasting on *Saturdays*, and ordering them to correct that Practice (Y).

II. They

<sup>f</sup> Metrophan. in liter. ad Michael. Patric. Auct. lib. de Synod. Sinod. 150.

(Y) The Words of the Canon are; *Whereas we understand, that, in the City of Rome, the Sabbath in Lent is kept as a Fast, contrary to the Rule and Custom of the Church; it seemed good to the holy Synod, that in the Roman Church also the ancient Canon should be revived and enforced, which says, If any Clergyman be found to fast on the Lord's Day, or on the Sabbath, one only excepted (the Saturday before Easter-day) let him be deposed; if a Layman, let him be excommunicated. Saturday, or the Sabbath, was observed from the earliest Times, by all the Eastern Churches, as a Festival, with the same religious Ceremonies as Sunday, or the Lord's Day. There was only this Difference between these Two great Festivals of the Week, as they were called, that Christians were not required to rest from bodily Labour on the Sabbath; nay, they who did so, were excommunicated as Judaizers by*

the Twenty-ninth Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*. The Observation of the *Sabbath* is commonly, and most probably, thought to have been continued by the Christian Churches to gratify in this, as they did in many other indifferent Things, the *Jewish* Converts, who still retained a great Veneration for the *Mosaic* Institutions (1). Some Writers are of Opinion, and among the rest *Albaspinæus*, that the *Sabbath* was originally observed as a Festival by the *Latin* Churches, as well as by the *Greek*, even by that of *Rome* (2). However that be, it was certainly kept very early by the *Roman* Church as a Fast, and her Example was, in Process of Time, followed by all the Western Churches. The Church of *Milan*, though so near to *Rome*, was one of the last that turned the Festival into a Fast; for St. *Ambrose*, Bishop of that City, tells us, that, in his Time, not only the *Lord's Day*, but every *Sabbath*,

(1) See Cave, Prim. Christ. l. i. c. 7.

(2) Albaspin. Observat. l. i. c. 13.

II. They cut off the First Week of *Lent*, indulging themselves in that Week in the Use of Milk and Cheese (Z). III. They do not

Year of  
Christ 867.

*Sabbath*, except the *great Sabbath* before *Easter*, was observed there, even in *Lent*, as a Festival (3). He did not, however, condemn the contrary Practice; for being consulted by St. *Austin* upon this particular Point, he told him, that he could give him no better Advice than to do as he himself did; for, when I am at *Rome*, said he, I fast on *Saturday* as they do at *Rome*; when I am here, I do not fast (4). In St. *Austin's* Time, some pretended the Custom of fasting on *Saturdays* at *Rome* to have been introduced by St. *Peter*, who being to contend with *Simon* the Sorcerer on a *Sunday*, fasted the preceding Day; and having overcome him, continued ever afterwards, with the *Roman Church*, to fast on the same Day. But this Tradition was, as St. *Austin* informs us, looked upon in his Time, and very deservedly, as a mere Fable by some of the *Romans* themselves (5). However, it was alleged by *Ratramnus*, in his Answer to *Photius's* Letter, to justify the *Roman Practice*. But neither he, nor *Aeneas* Bishop of *Paris*, take any notice, in their Answers, of the Apostolic Canon, or of that of the Sixth Council.

(Z) There was anciently great Variety as to the Number of Weeks in the *Lent* Fast. Some Churches began it Six Weeks before *Easter*, some Seven, some Eight, some Nine, and some even Ten; and yet none of them hit on the precise Number of Forty Days. The Churches, that kept their Fast Six Weeks, excepted all *Sundays* out of it; and such as kept it Seven Weeks, excepted all *Saturdays*, but one, as well as *Sundays*. Thus they agreed in the Number of fasting Days, viz. Thirty-six, while they disagreed in the Number of Weeks. The Churches, that began their Fast Eight, Nine, and Ten Weeks before *Easter*, excepted so many Days, that their fasting Days did not exceed that Number. Pope *Gregory* the First, or, as others will have it, the Second of that Name, added to the Thirty-six Days of the Six Weeks *Wednesday*, and the Three following Days of the Seventh, to make them completely Forty. Of this Addition Notice is taken

by *Ratramnus* in his Answer to *Photius*; and he concludes from thence, that the *quadragesimal* Fast is observed more exactly in the *Roman Church* than it is in that of *Constantinople*. I cannot help observing here, that neither the *Lent* Fast, nor any other, anciently consisted, as it does now in the Church of *Rome*, in a Change of Diet from *Flesh* to *Fish*, but in a total Abstinence from Food till Evening; and they then thought it indifferent whether they refreshed themselves with *Fish*, *Flesh*, or any other Food. Indeed Fasting, as it is commanded by the Church of *Rome*, is mere Mockery; for, according to their Casuists, no Drink breaks a Fast, be it Wine, be it Chocolate; so that a Man may drink as much Chocolate as he pleases, nay, and may get drunk with Wine, or any other Liquor, and yet fast as the Church commands; since he would in that Case, say they, break the Command of God against Drunkenness, but not the Law of the Church about Fasting (6). *Pasqualigus*, who has written most fully on this Subject, adds, that, as it is not wholesome to drink without eating, you may eat (Two Ounces of Bread, says *Escobar*) when you drink, that not being forbidden, because it is taken by way of Medicine; and for this Practice he quotes a great Number of Casuists (7). All are allowed a Collation in the Evening, and there is no certain Rule, says *Lessius*, for the Quantity of it (8). In short, Fasting in the Church of *Rome* consists merely in a Change of Food, or in an Abstinence from *Flesh*, and every thing that comes from *Flesh*; so that a Papist may in *Lent*, and on all other Fasts, riot upon Salmon, Sturgeon, and other such delicious *Fish*, may drink the richest Wines, and yet obey the Command of his Church, and earn Heaven by fasting. But should he taste any *Flesh*, however coarse, or the Liquor it was boiled in, or any *Lactinia* or Milk-meats, he would disobey her Command; and her Commands are all no less binding, on Pain of Damnation, than those of the Decalogue.

(3) Ambros. de elem. & jejunio, c. 10. ep. 86. (6) Pasqualig. Praxis jejunii decis. 116. Escobar. Lessius, &c. (7) Ibid. decis. 119.

(4) August. ep. 86 & 118. (5) Aug. (8) Less. Instruct. Sacerdot. l. vi. c. 2.

Year of  
Christ 86.7

allow their Priests to marry, and separate those from their Wives who were married before they entered into Orders; and to this Practice, adds *Photius*, it is owing that we see so many Children, but know nothing of their Fathers (A). IV. They anoint anew with the holy Chrism those who have been already anointed by Presbyters, pretending, that Bishops alone are authorized to perform that Ceremony (B). V. They teach, that the Holy Ghost proceeds not from the Father alone, but from the Father and the Son; and thus divide the undivided Deity into Two Principles. This, says *Photius*, is the most horrid Blasphemy that ever was, or ever can be uttered, not only against the Holy Ghost, but the whole Trinity, and alone deserves a Thousand Anathemas (C). VI. They raise Deacons to the Episcopal Dignity, without conferring upon them the Order of Priesthood. VII. In Imitation of the *Jews*, they consecrate a Lamb at *Easter*, and offer it on the Altar with the Body of the Lord (D). VIII. Their Clergy shave their Beards (E). These

(A) *It were to be wished, says Alvarus Pelagius, Bishop of Silva in Portugal in the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century, that the Clergy had never vowed Chastity, especially the Clergy of Spain, where the Sons of the Laity are not much more numerous than the Sons of the Clergy* (1).

(B) All Persons, Children as well as the Adult, were anciently anointed with the holy Unction, and received the Imposition of Hands, as soon as they were baptized; which Ceremony we now call Confirmation. In the *Roman Church*, several Unctions were used on that Occasion, viz. of the Forehead, of the Eyes, Nose, Mouth, and Ears. That of the Forehead, which was always attended with the Imposition of Hands, was reserved to the Bishop as his peculiar Office; but Presbyters were allowed to perform all the other Unctions, and, in most of the Eastern Churches, even that of the Forehead, and the Imposition of Hands, with the Permission of the Bishop. The Chrism, used in these Unctions, was a Mixture of Oil and Balsam, which the Bishop alone was allowed to consecrate, and it was always consecrated at *Easter*. When this Ceremony, which was originally but one of the Parts or Rites of the Sacrament of Baptism, began first to be

used, is uncertain; but *Tertullian* and *Origen*, who flourished in the Third Century, are the first who speak of it. However, in the Church of *Rome* it is One of the Seven Sacraments, and is believed to be of divine Institution, and to imprint an indelible Character (2).

(C) This Point is the Subject of Three whole Books out of the Four that *Ratramnus* wrote in Answer to the Objections of *Photius*. The First consists of Passages from Scripture, and the other Two of Passages from the Fathers, to prove the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son.

(D) That such a gross Piece of Superstition as that of consecrating a Lamb at *Easter*, and eating the Flesh of it, once prevailed in the *Roman Church*, appears from *Walafridus Strabo*, who severely censures it (3); and likewise from the old *Ordo Romanus*, where a Form is set down for the Consecration of a Lamb at *Easter*. But as *Strabo* takes no notice of their offering it on the Altar with the Eucharist, that was probably an Aggravation of the Thing, and perhaps *putidum mendacium*, as Cardinal *Bona* calls it (4).

(E) The Clergy were forbidden, by the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, to let their Hair

(1) *Alvar. de planctu Eccles. l. ii. art. 27.* (2) *Coneil. Trid. de Sacram. can. 9.*  
(3) *Strabo de reb. Eccles. c. 18.* (4) *Bona rer. Liturg. l. ii. c. 8.*

These were the chief Articles of the Charge brought by *Photius* <sup>Year of Christ 867.</sup> against the *Roman* Church, in his Letter to the Eastern Bishops; and, in the same Letter, he exhorts them to concur with him in reforming that Church, and to send their Deputies to assist, in their Name, if they cannot assist in Person, at the œcumenical Council <sup>He exhorts the Eastern Bishops to join him against the Pope.</sup> that is appointed to meet for that Purpose. He tells them, that he has received a synodical Letter from *Italy*, filled with unheard-of Complaints from all Ranks of People against their Bishop, whose Tyranny they can no longer bear; and therefore entreat him to deliver them from so galling a Yoke. In the Close of his Letter, he exhorts the Patriarchs and Bishops, to whom it was addressed, to receive the Seventh Council, that condemned, under his Uncle *Tarasius*, the Heresy of the Iconoclasts, and established the opposite Doctrine. In his Letter, he takes notice of the Conversion of the *Bulgarians*, and likewise of the *Ruteni* or *Russians*, stiling them a Nation that exceeds all other Nations in Slaughters and Cruelty (F).

The Pope, finding the *Roman* Church and his See thus attacked, <sup>The Pope recurs to the Gallican Bishop for an Answer to the Reproaches of Photius.</sup> applied to *Hincmar* and the other Metropolitans of *Charles's* Kingdom, desiring them to assemble their respective Suffragans to examine and answer, jointly with them, the Reproaches of *Photius*, levelled against all Churches that used the *Latin* Tongue, as well as *Photius*.

*Hair grow long, or to shave their Beards, Clericus nec comam nutriat, nec barbam radat.* As the contrary Custom, with respect to the Beard, obtains in the *Latin* Church, and they will not allow any of their Practices to be contrary to the ancient Canons, but will have them all, however indifferent, to be pregnant with some Mystery, *Bellarmin* pretends, that the Word *radat* should be left out; and he reads the Canon thus; *Clericus nec comam nutriat, nec barbam*, a Clergyman shall neither let his Hair grow long nor his Bead (5). But that the other is the true Reading has been unanswerably proved from the ancient Manuscripts (6).

(F) In the Year 861, they over-ran many Provinces of the Empire, committing every-where most dreadful Ravages, and shocking Barbarities, and even laid Siege

to *Constantinople* itself; but not succeeding in that Undertaking, which *Porphyrogenetus* ascribes to the Prayers of *Photius*, they returned home, and, upon their Return, embraced the Christian Religion, received a Bishop, and of Enemies became Friends and Allies of the Empire. To what so sudden a Change was owing in so cruel, so fierce, so inhuman a Nation, as *Porphyrogenetus* calls them, or by whose means it was brought about, neither he nor *Photius* has informed us. But they relapsed afterwards into Idolatry; for *St. Adelbertus*, who was sent by *Otto* King of *Germany*, in 959, to preach the Gospel to that People, found no other Christian among them but *Helena* their Queen, who had been baptized at *Constantinople* in 954 (7).

(5) *Bellarmin. de monach. l. ii. c. 40. ep. 24. & Spondan. epit. Baron. ad ann. 858. Muscovit. p. 3. Curopalates, Zonar. &c.*

(6) See *Savaro not. in Sidonium, l. iv. (7) Cedren. p. 636. Herbest. rer.*



Year of  
Christ 867.

the *Roman*, and to transmit their Answers to him <sup>g</sup>. The Bishops met, in Compliance with the Desire of the Pope; and having examined, with their Metropolitans, the Points in Dispute, answered one by one the Objections of *Photius*. The Answers of the Bishops of the Province of *Sens*, collected by *Aneas* Bishop of *Paris*, have reached our Times; but those of the Bishops of the Province of *Reims*, collected by *Odo* Bishop of *Beauvais*, are lost. *Ratramnus*, one of the most learned Men of his Age, wrote on the same Subject, probably at the Desire of the Bishops; and his Performance, which is still extant, far exceeds that of *Aneas*.

The Emperor  
Michael  
murdered.

In the mean time happened in the East an unexpected Change of Affairs both in the Church and the State: The Emperor *Michael* was murdered by his Guards, either at the Instigation of the Friends of *Basilus*, or by a Decree of the Senate, says *Porphyrogennetus*, exculpating his Grandfather *Basilus*. But the other *Byzantine* Historians, and among them *Leo Grammaticus* and *Symeon Logotheta*, tell us, that *Basilus* being informed, that *Michael* designed to remove him out of the Way, and raise a Patrician, by Name *Basiliscianus*, to the Imperial Throne in his room, he resolved to save his own Life at the Expence of the Emperor's; and that, entering accordingly his Room one Night while he was drunk and asleep, he first cut off both his Hands as he held them up, and then dispatched him with innumerable Wounds, after he had reigned Twenty-seven Years and Four Months. *Basilus*, now sole Master of the Empire, ordered *Photius* the very next Day to be confined to a Monastery; and having sent for *Ignatius*, commanded Silence upon his appearing before him, bestowed upon him the highest Commendations, and restored him to his See, Eleven Years after he had been driven with Violence from it <sup>h</sup>. *Nicetas* writes, that the Emperor deposed *Photius* in a Council, which must have consisted of such Bishops only as happened then to be at *Constantinople*, since he was deposed the very next Day after the Murder of his Collegue *Michael*. *Zonaras* and, long before him, *Leo Grammaticus*, *Symeon Logotheta*, and *George* the Monk, ascribe the Deposition of *Photius* to his having pushed back *Basilus* as he approached the Altar to receive the Eucharist, telling him, that he could not administer it to him, as his Hands were still reeking with the Blood of his Benefactor. But of that no Notice is taken by *Porphyrogennetus*, more ancient than

Photius de-  
posed, and  
Ignatius re-  
stored.

<sup>g</sup> Nicol. ep. 70. apud Baron. ad ann. 867. n. 46, & seq.

<sup>h</sup> Nicet. in vit. Ignat.

any

any of those Writers, nor by *Nicetas*, who was an Eye-witness of what he relates, and would scarce have ventured, how prejudiced soever against *Photius*, to pass so remarkable a Circumstance over in Silence. And truly that *Photius* was a Man to flatter Princes in their Wickedness, rather than to reprimand them, sufficiently appears from the Letter he wrote to the Emperor *Michael* when he received the News of the Death of *Bardas*, murdered by his Order; for though he owed, as we have seen, his Promotion to *Bardas* alone, yet, in that Letter, he approved of his Murder, nay, and painted his deceased Friend and Benefactor as the most wicked of Men, and richly deserving the Fate he had met with.

*Photius* being driven from the Patriarchal Palace, the Emperor sent the Governor *Bahanes* to him, with an Order to deliver up all the Writings he had taken with him. He pretended to have taken none; but, in the mean time, Word was brought to *Bahanes*, that his Domestics were just gone out with Seven Sacks full of Writings. These *Bahanes* immediately ordered to be seized, and carried to the Emperor; who, upon opening them, found Two Books amongst them with very rich Coverings, the one containing the Acts of the Council that had deposed *Ignatius*, the other the Acts of that which had deposed the Pope. The former was divided into Seven Sessions, to each of which was prefixed some Representation of *Ignatius* done by *Gregory* of *Syracuse*, the most skilful Painter in Miniature of his Time. Before the First Session, he was represented dragged to the Council, and beaten by those who dragged him, with the Word *the Devil* over his Head. Before the Second he was buffeted, spit upon, and otherwise insulted by his Keepers; and the Inscription was, *the Beginning of Sin*. In the Beginning of the Third, the Fourth, and the Fifth Sessions, he was seen divested of his Patriarchal Robes, anathematized, and fettered like a common Malefactor, with the Mottoes, *the Son of Iniquity; Simon the Sorcerer; exalting himself above all that is called God*. Before the Sixth and the Seventh, he was drawn as condemned to Death, and carried to the Place of Execution, with the Inscriptions, *the Abomination of Desolation; the Antichrist*. The other Book contained the Acts of the Council that deposed the Pope, the Crimes that were laid to his Charge, with their Proofs, and the Sentence that was pronounced against him, with the forged Subscriptions mentioned above. Of these Books Two Copies were found, *Photius* intending to keep one for himself, and

to

Year of  
Christ 867.

The Papers  
of Photius  
joined,

and among  
them the Acts  
of his pre-  
tended Coun-  
cil.

Year of  
Christ 867.

to send the other to the Emperor *Lewis*, with many rich Presents, and a flattering Letter, which fell likewise into the Emperor's Hands, wherein he acquainted *Lewis* and his Wife *Ingelberga* with the Deposition of the Pope by an œcumenical Council, as he called it, and at the same time entreated them to drive him from *Rome*, in Compliance with the Decree of that Council <sup>i</sup>. These Books were, to the unspeakable Mortification of *Photius* and his Friends, publicly shewn by the Emperor to the Senate and the Clergy of *Constantinople*, and afterwards consigned to the Flames by Order of the Eighth General Council.

The Emperor  
acquaints the  
Pope with  
the Restora-  
tion of *Ignatius*.

*Photius* being thus driven from the Patriarchal See, and *Ignatius* reinstated in his former Dignity, the Emperor dispatched immediately *Basilus* the Protospatharius to acquaint the Pope therewith; and with him *John*, Metropolitan of *Sylæum*, was sent by *Ignatius*, and *Peter*, Metropolitan of *Sardis*, by *Photius*, the Emperor, who affected great Impartiality, allowing him to send one to plead his Cause at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See. But the Metropolitan of *Sardis* was shipwrecked in the Gulph of *Dalmatia*; and Pope *Nicholas* died before the Arrival of the other Two at *Rome*, bereaved by Death of the Satisfaction the Restoration of *Ignatius*, which he had laboured, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, to bring about, would have given him. The Envoys therefore delivered the Letters they were charged with to his Successor, who strove, as we shall see in the Sequel, with no less Zeal than his Predecessor had done, to bring this Affair to a happy Issue.

Contest be-  
tween the  
Pope and the  
Gallican  
Bishops,  
concerning  
the Ordina-  
tion of *Wul-*  
*fade*, and  
other Clerks.

Besides this Dispute with *Photius* and his Partizans in the East, *Nicholas* was engaged, during the Two last Years of his Life, in a warm Contest with *Hincmar* and the other *Gallican* Bishops in the West, on the following Occasion: *Ebbo*, Archbishop of *Reims*, having sided with the Children of the Emperor *Lewis the Debonnaire* in their Rebellion against their Father, was, on that Account, deposed in a Council held at *Thionville* in 835, but, upon the Death of *Lewis*, restored to his See by the Emperor *Lotharius*, in a Council convened in 840 at *Ingelheim* on the *Rhine*. Upon his Restoration, he applied to Pope *Sergius II.* desiring to be reconciled to the Church by the Authority of his See. But the Pope only granted him Lay Communion, declaring him unworthy of communicating in the Quality of a Clergyman. He was, however, prevailed

<sup>i</sup> Nicet. in vit. Ignat.

upon by the Emperor *Lotharius* to order his Cause to be examined anew; and *Guntbold* Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the other Bishops of *Charles the Bald's* Kingdom, met for that Purpose at *Paris* in 846. But *Ebbo* did not appear at that Council; and he was thereupon banished the Diocese of *Reims* till his Cause was finally determined in a general Assembly<sup>k</sup>. Being thus obliged to quit his Diocese, he withdrew into *Germany*, where he was kindly received by King *Lewis*, and appointed Bishop of *Hildesheim* in the Country of the *Saxons*, that See happening to be then vacant. *Ebbo* had ordained some Clerks after his Deposition in 835, and those *Hincmar*, who succeeded him in 845 in the See of *Reims*, would not receive, alleging their Ordination to be null, as they had been ordained by one who was divested of all Episcopal Power and Authority. Hereupon the Clerks, among whom was *Wulfade*, who had been Preceptor to *Carloman* the Son of *Charles the Bald*, and was therefore greatly favoured by that King, applied to a Council that was held at *Soissons* in 853, and consisted of the Bishops of Five Provinces, *Hincmar* presiding at it, with the Archbishops *Venilo* of *Sens*, *Paul* of *Rouen*, and *Amauri* of *Tours*. But by that Council a Decree was issued, declaring the Ordination of those Clerks to be null; and that Decree was, at the Request of *Hincmar*, confirmed by Pope *Benedict*, the immediate Successor of Pope *Nicholas*.

However, *Wulfade*, encouraged by *Charles* of *France*, who wanted to prefer him, appealed from the Judgment of the Council to that of the Apostolic See; and *Nicholas*, ever ready to countenance, right or wrong, all who had Recourse to his See, not only received his Appeal, but having caused the Papers in the Archives of the *Roman* Church, relating to that Affair, to be examined, declared the Acts of the Council of *Soissons* to be uncanonical and null; and, at the same time, wrote to *Hincmar*, to *Herard* of *Tours*, and to all the Bishops of *France* and *Neustria*, requiring them to reinstate *Wulfade* and the other Clerks in their respective Degrees, or to examine their Cause anew in a general Assembly. He appointed the Time for the Meeting of that Assembly, viz. the 16th of *August* 866; and added in his Letter, that if any Difficulties arose, or the Clerks appealed to the holy See, they should grant them Leave to come to *Rome*, and either come with them in Person, or send Deputies to act in their Names. The Pope's Design in this was, either to make

Year of  
Christ 867.

*Wulfade ap-  
peals to the  
Pope.*

<sup>k</sup> Flodoard. hist. Remens. l. iii. c. 2.

Year of  
Christ 867.

the *Gallican* Bishops restore *Wulfade* and the other Clerks in this Second Council, and thus reverse the Judgment they themselves had formerly given, or to have the Cause, if they confirmed their First Judgment, removed to *Rome*, as he did not doubt but, in that Case, *Wulfade*, supported by the King, would appeal to the Apostolic See. But the *Gallican* Bishops, apprised of his Design, instead of annulling, confirmed the Judgment of the former Council, commended *Hincmar* for not restoring the deposed Clerks after the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, as they had been deposed by a Council; but added, that, by way of Favour, they might be reinstated in their former Degrees, which they left, they said, to the Pope, out of their great Regard to the See of St. *Peter*. This they notified to the Pope, assuring him, that they were ready to execute what his Holiness should ordain; but lest he should think, that they had revoked the Decree of the other Council, *Herard of Tours* declared, in the Name of all the Bishops who were present, that they did not depart from the Judgment they had given, but only consented, by a *merciful Charity*, to the Mitigation of a Sentence, which they had pronounced according to the Rigour of Justice, imitating therein the Fathers of *Nice*, who had received in like manner those whom *Melitus* had ordained<sup>1</sup>. Many Letters passed, on this Occasion, between the Pope and the *Gallican* Bishops. The Pope pretended, that *Hincmar* had misrepresented the Proceedings of the First Council of *Soissons* to his Predecessor *Benedict*, and surreptitiously obtained of him a Confirmation of the said Council; complained of their not having transmitted to him a distinct and authentic Account of the Deposition of *Ebbo*, and the controverted Ordination of *Wulfade* and the other Clerks; and required them to meet again, and inform him minutely of the Whole. They met accordingly at *Troyes*, on the 25th of *October* 867, and, in Compliance with the Pope's Request, acquainted him, in their synodical Letter, with every Particular relating to the Deposition of *Ebbo*, to his pretended Restoration, and the Ordination of *Wulfade* and the other Clerks, after his Deposition. *Athard*, Bishop of *Nantes*, was appointed by the Council to go with that Letter to *Rome*, and deliver it into the Pope's own Hands.

Council of  
Troyes.

Letter from  
the King to  
the Pope in  
favour of  
*Wulfade*.

But the King, *Charles of France*, obliged him to deliver it to him; and having opened and perused it, though sealed with the Seals of Five Archbishops, he wrote another to the Pope more favourable to

<sup>1</sup> Nicol. ep. 58. Concil. t. 8. p. 830. 833.

*Ebbo*

*Ebbo* and to *Wulfade*, whom he had already named to the vacant See of *Bourges*; for, in that Letter, he assured his Holiness, that *Ebbo* had been preferred by the Emperor to the See of *Reims* merely in Consideration of his Merit, and that the People had received him with Joy; that, in the First Rebellion of the Children of *Lewis the Debonnaire*, his Conduct was that of a loyal Subject; but, being unluckily drawn into the Second by the Faction of *Lotharius*, he had publicly acknowledged his Fault in the Church of St. *Stephen* at *Metz*; that the Emperor had writen to Pope *Gregory*, desiring him to confirm his Deposition, and the Pope had answered his Letter; but, as the Emperor kept the Contents of his Holiness's Letter secret, and did not name another to the See of *Reims*, it was highly probable that *Gregory* did not approve of the Deposition of *Ebbo*; that, upon the Death of the Emperor *Lewis*, he was acknowledged for lawful Bishop of *Reims* by all the Bishops subject to that See; that they all communicated with him, and such of them as had been ordained in his Absence, received from him, upon his Return, the Ring and the Crosier. From thence the King concludes *Wulfade* and the other Clerks to have been lawfully ordained, because ordained by a Metropolitan, who was acknowledged as such by all his Suffragans. In the Close of his Letter, the King excuses his having caused *Wulfade* to be consecrated Archbishop of *Bourges* before he received his Holiness's Answer; and demands the Pall for him.

As the Pope had reproached *Hincmar*, in one of his Letters to him, as well as in that to the Bishops of the Council of *Soissons*, with Pride, with unfair Dealing, and want of the Respect and Submission that was due to the Apostolic See, he wrote, by *Aetard*, a long Letter to clear himself from those Reproaches, and satisfy his Holiness, that, in this whole Affair, his Conduct had been intirely agreeable to the Canons and the known Laws of the Church. With these Letters *Aetard* set out for *Rome* in the Beginning of *November*; but Pope *Nicholas* dying in the mean time, the Affair was finally determined, to the Satisfaction of both Parties, by his Successor, as we shall see in the Sequel.

*Nicholas* died on the 13th of *November* 867, after he had governed the *Roman* Church Nine Years, Six Months, and Twenty Days. He was, without all Doubt, a Man of very uncommon Parts, and has by some been compared, nay, and equalled to *Leo* and to *Gregory*, as no less worthy of the Surname of *Great* than either of

Year of  
Christ 867.

them. His Ambition, at least, did not fall short of theirs; and, treading in their Footsteps, he made it his Study, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, to engross all Power to himself, to enslave, in Defiance of the Councils and their Canons, all other Sees to his own, and exalt himself above all that is called God. He paid no greater Regard to Princes than to his Fellow-bishops, *commanding Princes*, to use the Words of *Regino*, *as if he were their King, and Kings as if he were the sole Monarch of the Universe*. Notice is likewise taken, by the *Bertinian Annalist*, of his writing to Princes, especially to the *French Kings*, *in a haughty, imperious, and threatening Stile, and not with the Submission, Deference, and Respect that his Predecessors had ever shewn them*<sup>m</sup>. Of this we have seen several Instances, to which I shall add one more from *Gratian*, quoting the following Words out of one of this insolent Pope's Letters to King *Lotharius*; *We command thee by Apostolic Authority not to suffer any Bishop to be chosen for Treves or Cologne before a Report be made to our Apostleship*<sup>n</sup>. *Nicholas*, so far as we can judge from his whole Conduct, had nothing so much at Heart as to vilify and depreciate the Authority of Princes, in order to raise his own above theirs, and the Church above the State; and it was, no doubt, with that View that he taught the infamous Doctrine, that *Subjection is not due to bad Princes*, and left every Bishop to judge and determine whether the Prince was a good or a bad one, a lawful Prince or a Tyrant; a Doctrine that, should it ever prevail, would involve all Kingdoms in endless Rebellions, and fill them with Blood and Slaughter. But how great soever his Demerit was in other Respects, he certainly deserved well of the Apostolic See; and his Successors in that See have accordingly honoured him with the greatest Mark of Distinction in their Power, that of Saintship. Indeed, that he was received into Heaven among the Saints of the First Class, was attested by an Eye-witness, *viz.* by *John the Deacon*, to whom he appeared in the Company of *Gregory the Great*, surrounded with the same Glory as that renowned Pontiff.

His Charity,  
Munificence,  
&c.

*Nicholas* is commended by *Anastasius* for his Charity to the Poor, of whom he kept a List, sending a daily Supply of Provisions to all the Blind, the Lame, and the Infirm, in the different Quarters of the City, and giving Tickets to those who could walk, to some for one Day, to others for another; so that they were all, in their Turn,

<sup>m</sup> Bertin. annal. ad ann. 865.

<sup>n</sup> Gratian. distinct. lxxiii. c. 4.

plenti;

## Nicholas. BISHOPS of Rome.

341

plentifully fed by him once a Week °. He made many rich Presents to the Churches of *Rome*, especially to that of St. *Peter*, of which the Reader will find an Inventory in the *Bibliothecarian*. As to his public Works, he repaired an Aqueduct that conveyed Water to the *Vatican* Basilic, and rebuilt the City of *Ostia*, strengthening it with new Works against any sudden Attack of the *Saracens*, who continued to infest that Coast p.

Year of  
Christ 867.

Of this Pope we have near an Hundred Letters; but of many of them I have already given the Contents in speaking of the Subjects to which they related; and shall only take notice here of such of the rest as may serve to acquaint us with the Doctrines, the Practices, and the ecclesiastical Discipline of those Times. Amongst these, the most remarkable is that which *Nicholas* wrote in 866 in Answer to the Questions, Doubts, or Consultations of the *Bulgarians*, converted Five Years before to the Christian Religion (E). It contains no fewer than

° Anast. in Nicol. p Idem ibid.

(E) The *Bulgarians*, a fierce and war-like Nation, came originally from the Country bordering on the *Palus Mæotis*, were converted to the Christian Religion in 861, on the following Occasion: In an Irruption they had made a few Years before into the Empire, the Sister of *Bogoris* their King was taken, and carried, with the other Captives, to *Constantinople*. The King, who tenderly loved her, was greatly affected with her unhappy Fate; but it proved, in the End, the Source of the greatest Happiness that could befall him and his People: For the Princess, having embraced the Christian Religion during her Captivity, and being soon after exchanged for one *Theodore Cuphara*, said to have been a Man of great Learning, she undertook, upon her Return home, to gain over the King her Brother to the same Faith, representing to him, on all Occasions, the Greatness and the Power of the God of the Christians, as well as the Vanity of his Idols, and exhorting him to banish them, and adore one God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and the only true God, in their room. The King hearkened to her; but his Attachment to the Religion and the Gods of his Ancestors was Proof against all her Reasons, Remonstrances, and Exhortations, till Providence interposed in a

special Manner: A dreadful Famine began to rage all over the Land, and was soon followed by a more dreadful Plague, that swept off daily many Thousands. These Calamities the pious Princess looked upon as sent by Heaven to second her Endeavours; and therefore renewing her Exhortations with more Zeal than ever, she prevailed on the King at last to apply for Relief to the God of the Christians. He soon felt the good Effect of this Application; the Plague ceased; and the King, sensible to whom he was indebted for so quick a Deliverance, dispatched Ambassadors to *Constantinople* for proper Persons to instruct and baptize him and his People; and he was accordingly instructed and baptized, with many of his Subjects, by Missionaries sent from thence. Such is the Account *Porphyrogenetus* gives us of the Conversion of the *Bulgarians* (1); and his Account has been copied by *Zonaras*, *Eusebius*, and *Cedrenus*. But *Symeon Logotheta*, taking no notice of the King's Sister, tells us, that the Emperor *Michael* having made great Preparations by Sea and Land to fall upon the *Bulgarians*, *Gibores* their King (for so he calls him) alarmed thereat, as he was not in a Condition to withstand so great a Force, a dreadful Famine raging at that time in his Kingdom, sent Ambassadors to

the

(1) Porphy. in Vit. Michael.



Year of  
Christ 867.

our Queen *Mary*, the tender and compassionate Heart of a Woman into that of merciless and blood-thirsty Tyrant. And here I cannot help observing, that, from the Pope's own Words, it appears, that the Apostolic See had its Share in the glorious Exploit spoken of above; for the Pope, after telling her, that the Heretics dreaded, and at the same time admired, her Resolution and Steadiness in maintaining the Purity of the Catholic Faith, adds, *and why so, but because you followed the Documents of the Apostolic See?*

His Doctrine  
concerning  
the Admini-  
stration of  
Baptism.

A *Greek*, pretending to be a Priest, had administered to many the Sacrament of Baptism; and the *Bulgarians*, discovering the Imposture, had condemned the Impostor to have his Nose and Ears cut off, to be publicly whipped, and had banished him the Country. This Piece of Cruelty the Pope did not approve, and therefore told the *Bulgarians*, consulting him about it, that their Zeal was not according to Knowledge; that Banishment was a sufficient Punishment; that the Validity of Baptism did not depend upon the Virtue of the Minister; and consequently that they, whom the *Greek* had baptized, must not be re-baptized, provided he had administered that Sacrament in the Name of the Trinity (F).

How Apo-  
states to be  
dealt with.

As some of the *Bulgarians*, after embracing the Christian Religion, had relapsed into Idolatry, they wanted to know how such Apostates should be dealt with. To that Question the Pope answered, that they should first be admonished by their Godfathers; that, if they did not hear them, it should be told to the Church; and, if

(F) Pope *Nicholas* required no more. But the Council of *Trent* makes the Intention of the Priest necessary (1) in the Administration of Sacraments; so that, unless the Priest intends to baptize, the Child is not baptized, nor is any other sacred Office performed, as I have observed elsewhere. And who can answer for the Intention of a Man, whose Thoughts may easily wander from the Business he is engaged in? The Pope returned the same Answer to the *Bulgarians*, consulting him, whether they should be re-baptized whom a *Jew* had baptized, viz. that they should not, if he had baptized in the Name of the Trinity; and he could not suppose the

*Jew* to have had the Intention required by the Council of *Trent*, that of administering a Sacrament.—The Doctrine here defined by Pope *Nicholas*, viz. that Baptism administered by a *Jew*, and consequently by a Pagan or an Infidel, is valid, and ought not to be reiterated, has been, ever since his Time, the received Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* (2). But, among the *Latins*, *Jerom* looked upon it as a strange Paradox, that a Man should be made a Christian by one, who was himself no Christian (3); and so did *Nicephorus* among the *Greeks*, declaring; that no Man can baptize others, who is not first baptized himself (4).

(1) Concil. Trid. sess. 7. can. 11. Armenos. Concil. l. xiii. p. 535.

(2) Ordo Roman. p. 15. Eugen. decret. ad Hier. dial. adv. Luciferianos, c. 5. (4) Ni-

ph. hist. l. xi. c. 11.

they

they neglected to hear the Church, they should be looked upon as Heathens, and besides, be punished by the secular Power. However, <sup>Year of Christ 867.</sup> he was against their using any Violence or Compulsion with such as never had embraced the Christian Faith; a Principle which, had it been adopted by his Successors, would have saved the Lives, I might perhaps say, of Millions.

As Self-murder was not, it seems, an uncommon Thing amongst <sup>Of Suicides, &c.</sup> the *Bulgarians*, the Pope allowed them to inter such as were guilty of that Crime, lest the uninterred Bodies should produce an Infection; but forbid any Prayers to be said, or any Oblations to be made for the Redemption of their Souls. It is observeable, that the Council of *Braga* ordered those, who suffered for their Crimes, to be treated in the same manner, as being accessory to their own Deaths, and in that Sense Suicides. The rest of the Pope's Letter relates to the Feasts and Fasts of the Church, and the Manner of observing them; to the Ceremonies of Marriage; to several superstitious Practices and indifferent Customs that obtained among them. He forbids them to eat the Flesh of Animals killed or hunted by the Pagans, or to make any Treaties with them, unless it be to gain them over to the true Faith; to swear upon their Swords, or in the Name of any Creature; to take from the Churches such Criminals as have fled thither for Refuge; to wear their Turbans in the Church; to have any Commerce with their Wives during *Lent*, or on *Sundays*, or while they suckle, &c. The Pope closes his Letter with exhorting the *Bulgarians* and their King to have Recourse, in all their Doubts, to the *Roman* Church, the Head of all Churches, that has never deviated from the true Faith, and is ever ready to instruct all who apply to her for Instruction.

In a Letter he wrote to *Rodolph* Archbishop of *Bourges*, he declares the Chorepiscopi (G) to have the Power of performing Episcopal <sup>His Letter to the Archbishop of Bourges concerning the Chorepiscopi</sup>

\* Concil. Bracar. i. c. 34.

(G) As Bishops were allowed, when disabled by Age or Infirmities, to ordain themselves Coadjutors, so were they permitted, in extensive and populous Dioceses, to ordain *Chorepiscopi*, that is, as the *Greek* Word imports, Country-Bishops, to assist them in the Country. The Chorepiscopi were, according to the most probable Opinion, real Bishops; and it was their Province to preside over the Country Clergy,  
Vol. IV.

to inspect their Conduct, and acquaint the City-Bishop therewith. As they were true Bishops, they were vested with all Episcopal Power; but limited as to the Exercise of that Power. Thus, though they might confer the inferior Orders without the Consent, or even the Knowledge of the City-Bishop, they were not authorized to ordain, without his Leave, either Priests or Deacons. Pope *Nicholas*, in a Letter  
Y y to

Year of  
Christ 867.

Episcopal Functions, as they were created in Imitation of the Seventy Disciples, who were vested with that Power; and consequently the Ordination of Priests and Deacons made by them to be valid. He adds, that they are forbidden by the Canons to perform such Functions; and commands those Canons to be observed in Time to come. In the same Letter, he will have those who kill their Wives, if they are not taken in Adultery, to undergo the Penance imposed by the Church on Murderers.

*Penance in-  
joined by Ni-  
cholas on a  
Father, who  
had murdered  
his Three  
Children.*

In a Letter to a Bishop named *Ronolard*, he acquaints him with the Penance he had imposed upon a Father, who, having murdered his Three Children, came to *Rome* to be absolved by his Apostleship from so heinous a Crime. The Penance he enjoined was, that, for the Three first Years (for his Penance was to last Twelve) he should not be admitted into the Church, but pray at the Door; that, during the next Four, he should remain amongst the Hearers; should in these Seven Years be excluded from the Eucharist, should drink no Wine, except on *Sundays* and Holidays, and abstain from Flesh so long as he lived; that, in the Three last Years of his Penance, he should drink no Wine Three Days in the Week, should go bare-footed, and never bear Arms, except against the Pagans. However, the Pope allowed him to eat Cheese, to keep his Estate, and to cohabit with his Wife, lest, says the Pope, he should fall into the Sin of Adultery, and thus, while he atones for one Crime, run headlong into a

to *Harduic* Archbishop of *Besangon*, tells him, that the Chorepiscopi are not only forbidden to ordain Priests or Deacons, but to consecrate Churches, and even to administer Confirmation to Children (1). However they were allowed to sit and vote in Councils; and the Decrees of the First Council of *Nice* were signed by no fewer than Fifteen of that Order. As the Chorepiscopi were ordained by one Bishop only, the Bishop of the City to whose Jurisdiction they belonged, the Validity of their Ordination began in After-ages to be questioned; and, by a Council held at *Ratibon* in 803, Three Decrees were issued relating to them, under the Name of *Village Bishops*, *villanos Episcopos*. By the First it was enacted, that they should thenceforth perform no Episcopal Functions: By

the Second, that no Chorepiscopi should be ordained in Time to come: And by the Third their Acts were all declared null, and they placed among the Presbyters. These Decrees were confirmed by Pope *Leo III.* (2); but nevertheless that Order was not yet intirely suppressed in the Time of Pope *Nicholas*, as appears from the Letter of that Pope now before us. To *Baronius* and *Bellarmino* I shall leave the Task of reconciling the Decrees of *Ratibon*, placing the Chorepiscopi among the Presbyters, and declaring all their Acts to be null, which Decrees *Leo* confirmed, with the Decretal of Pope *Nicholas*, defining the same Chorepiscopi to be vested with Episcopal Power, and the Ordination even of Priests and Deacons by them to be valid.

(1) *Dacheri* spicileg. t. 12.

(2) *Lall.* t. 7. Concil. p. 1152.

Nicholas.

BISHOPS of Rome.

347

greater <sup>t</sup>. So that the Murder of Three Children by their own Father was, in the Opinion of Pope *Nicholas*, a less heinous Crime than Adultery. Indeed, the Civil Law makes Adultery a capital Crime as well as Murder; and as such it was punished under the Pagan Emperors as well as the Christian; nay, *Constans*, the Son of *Constantine*, appointed the same Punishment to be inflicted upon Adulterers as upon Parricides; and these were either burnt alive, or drowned in a Sack, with a Snake, an Ape, a Cock, and a Dog, tied up with them.

Year of  
Christ 867.

I shall add here the Account we read in *Anastasius* of the Quarrel between this Pope and *John* Archbishop of *Ravenna*, as we know not precisely in what Year it happened: *John* acting, according to the Bibliothecarian, more like a lawless Tyrant than a Bishop, had excommunicated several Persons without just Cause, and seized on their Estates; had possessed himself of Lands belonging to the *Roman* See, and annexed them to his own; had arbitrarily, and without any Regard to the Canons, deposed, imprisoned, and confined in Dungeons Presbyters and Deacons, not only of his own Diocese, but of the Province of *Emilia*, under the immediate Jurisdiction of the Apostolic See; and, what was still worse, diverted devout People from taking Pilgrimages to the Tombs of the holy Apostles; nay, and pretended, that the Pope had no Power to summon him to *Rome*. This *Nicholas* could not bear; and therefore, after citing him Three times to a Council, which he had appointed to meet at *Rome*, he pronounced in that Council, upon his not appearing, the Sentence of Excommunication against him. But the Archbishop, not intimidated in the least at that Sentence, resolved to maintain, even at *Rome*, the Independency of his See; and he set out accordingly for that City, in Company of several Persons of Distinction, whom the Emperor *Lewis* had appointed to attend him in the Character of his Envoys, and countenance him on his Arrival there. But the Pope having gained over the Envoys, and at the same time sent an Order to the Archbishop to appear on the First of *November* before the Council that had excommunicated him, and there give an Account of his Conduct, he left *Rome*, paying no kind of Regard to that Order, and returned to his See. His Return alarmed the Inhabitants of *Ravenna*; and Persons of the First Distinction in that City, as well as in the Province of *Emilia*, flew to *Rome*, attended by Crowds of People,

<sup>t</sup> Apud Iron. par. 10. c. 33.

Year of  
Christ 867.

to lay their Grievances before the Pope: They even entreated him to visit that unhappy City and Diocese in Person, in order to satisfy himself that the Calamities they complained of were not exaggerated, and at the same time to redeem them, with his Presence, from the insufferable Oppression they groaned under. The Pope, touched with Compassion, complied with their Request; and being informed upon the Spot of the Tyranny and Rapines of the Archbishop and his Brother *Gregory*, he restored to every Man his own, and issued a Decree confirming what he had done. The Archbishop did not wait the Arrival of the Pope; but, hearing of his Approach, fled in great Haste to *Pavia*, to implore the Protection of the Emperor, who resided there; but, to his great Mortification, *Luithard*, Bishop of that City, and the Inhabitants, hearing that he was excommunicated, would not admit him into their Houses, would not allow any thing to be sold to him or his Attendants, nor would they so much as speak to him, or to them; nay, they pointed at them in the public Streets, as Men whom they were to avoid on Pain of being excommunicated, and shunned by all as well as they. The Treatment the Archbishop met with from the Emperor was not less mortifying; for *Lewis*, refusing to admit him to his Presence, sent him the following Message; *Let him go and humble himself before so great a Pope, to whom we and the whole Church submit; for he can no otherwise obtain what he desires*, meaning, I suppose, his Favour and Protection. How the Emperor *submitted to so great a Pope* when he disapproved of his Conduct, or when the Pope did not comply with his Demands, we have seen above<sup>u</sup>. The Archbishop, finding himself thus abandoned to the Mercy of the Pope, resolved in the end to satisfy him, in Compliance with the Desire of the Emperor; and with that View he set out for *Rome*, the Emperor having, at his earnest Request, appointed Envoys to attend him thither. The Envoys were kindly received by the Pope; but, upon their recommending the Archbishop to him in their Master's Name, he told them, that if his beloved Son the Emperor were well informed of his whole Conduct, far from recommending or screening him, he would himself have sent him to the Apostolic See for Correction. The Pope paid more Regard to the Tears and Prayers of the Archbishop than to the Intercession of the Envoys; for *John* submitted in the end, finding himself forsaken by all, expressed great Contri-

<sup>u</sup> See above, p. 297.

Nicholas.

## BISHOPS of Rome

349

Year of  
Christ 867.

tion for his past Offences; and appearing before a Council assembled by the Pope on that Occasion, he there wrote the Act of Submission, which the Popes exacted from the Archbishops of *Ravenna* at the Time of their Ordination, but both he and his Predecessor *Felix* had falsified, read it in the Hearing of the whole Assembly, and swore, upon the Cross and the Gospel, to conform to it in Time to come. The next Day *John* appeared again before the Council, and having cleared himself from the Crime of Heresy, for that Crime too was laid to his Charge, the Pope absolved him from the Excommunication, gave him leave to say Mass, and the Third Day allowed him to take his Seat in the Council. But a Petition being presented to the Council by the Bishops of *Emilia*, and the Inhabitants of *Ravenna*, complaining of *John's* Extortions and Tyranny, a Decree was drawn up by the Council, in the Pope's Name, to restrain him from thus abusing his Authority, and addressed to him in the following Words: "We command you, Archbishop *John*, to come  
" once a Year to *Rome*, if you are not prevented by Sicknefs, or  
" excused from it by the Apostolic Sec. You shall consecrate no  
" Bishops in the Province of *Emilia* till they have been elected  
" by the Duke, the Clergy, and the People, and you have obtained  
" leave to consecrate them from him who shall preside in the holy  
" Sec; nor shall you hinder them from coming, as often as they  
" shall think fit, to *Rome*. You shall exact nothing from them  
" contrary to the authorized Custom, to the Canons, or the Privi-  
" leges of Bishops. You shall not appropriate to yourself what an-  
" other Man possesses, till it has been legally adjudged to you at  
" *Ravenna*, in our Presence, or in the Presence of our Deputies and  
" yours w." And thus was at last the See of *Ravenna* intirely sub-  
jected to that of *Rome* (G).

The See of  
*Ravenna* in-  
tirely sub-  
jected to that  
Of *Rome*.

▼ Anast. in Nicol.

(G) Of this Quarrel between *John* of *Ravenna* and Pope *Nicholas* we read a very different Account in an anonymous Author, who is supposed to have lived in or near those Times; for he tells us, that the Pope, jealous of the Archbishop's Intimacy with the Emperor *Lewis*, summoned him to *Rome*, to give an Account of his Conduct, which some had impeached; that the Pope having excommunicated him upon his not obeying the Summons, the Emperor, who had espoused his Cause, highly resented it,

seized on the Patrimonies of the *Roman* Church in *Romagna* and the neighbouring Provinces, and even went in Person with the Archbishop to *Rome*, where great Disorders were committed by his Followers, &c. and that the Pope was in the end obliged to yield. But as no Notice is taken by the other contemporary Writers of any Disagreement on this Occasion between the Pope and the Emperor, nor of the Emperor's Journey to *Rome*, &c. nay, as the supposed contemporary Author contradicts,

*The History of the POPES, &c. Nicholas.*

Of the Dispute that arose in the Time of Pope *Nicholas* about the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and the Manner of his being present there, I shall speak, when the Popes begin to take part in that Controversy.

dicts, in many Particulars, the Historians, who undoubtedly flourished in those Times, we may well conclude the Piece ascribed to a contemporary Writer to be of a much later Date, and in all likelihood supposititious.

The History of the Popes by *Anastasius* the Bibliothecarian ends at the Death of this Pope. The Life of his Successor *Hadrian II.* was written by *Gulielmus* likewise Bibliothecarian, and that too of *Stephen V.* or, as others will have it, VI.

*The End of the Fourth VOLUME.*

11





**THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY  
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT**

**This book is under no circumstances to be  
taken from the Building**

SEP 1 1921

SEP 1 1921

9/19/21

SEP 2 1921

SEP 2 1921

SEP 2 1921

\_\_\_\_\_

